

# HERACLIDES OF PONTUS

TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY STUDIES  
IN CLASSICAL HUMANITIES

VOLUME XIV



EDITED BY  
ECKART SCHÜTRUMPF

PETER STORK, JAN VAN OPHUIJSEN,  
AND SUSAN PRINCE, TRANSLATORS



# HERACLIDES OF PONTUS



**Rutgers University Studies  
in Classical Humanities**

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## Preface

This is the fourteenth volume in the RUSCH series and the fifth to focus on what Fritz Wehrli called *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, or in English, The School of Aristotle. Volume fourteen is unusual in that its subject, Heraclides of Pontus, has but a weak claim to be a member of the School. To be sure, Wehrli includes Heraclides in his collection of Peripatetic philosophers (vol. 7) and in doing so he is following Diogenes Laertius, who includes Heraclides in his fifth book of *Lives*, which is devoted to members of the Peripatos. Nevertheless, that he was in any strong sense a Peripatetic is highly doubtful. Indeed, he is better classified as a member of Plato's Academy, who happened to be in the Academy with Aristotle and may have studied under him as well as with him. That might appear to be a reason for not producing a volume devoted to Heraclides, but there arguments on the other side. First, the RUSCH series can make room for more than card-carrying members of the Peripatos (vol. 7 is a one-off Festschrift) and second, scholars interested in the School of Aristotle must at some point consider Heraclides. For even if Diogenes Laertius was wrong to treat



Heraclides as a Peripatetic, Heraclides was interested in topics that were under discussion when Aristotle established his School.

This volume contains the surviving sources for the life and thought of Heraclides. The ancient texts have been collected and edited by Eckart Schütrumpf and the facing translation has been provided by Susan Prince, Peter Stork and Jan van Ophuijsen. The sources were discussed at a conference in Leeds, at which formal papers were presented and subsequently discussed. For reasons of space, the papers are not included in this volume. They will appear in Volume 15 together with several papers that were not presented in Leeds but were written in response to the work done there. Volume 15 should be viewed as a companion to the present volume and used in conjunction with it.

The conference referred to in the preceding paragraph was held at the University of Leeds in June of 2003. The conference was hosted by the Department of Classics and coordinated by Dr Elizabeth Pender. She was assisted by Dr Sara Rubinelli (University of Lugano) and Mrs Caroline Goulden, who served as conference administrator. Generous financial support was given by the British Academy (in the form of a Major Conference Award) and by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

W. W. Fortenbaugh  
Series Editor



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# 1

## Heraclides Ponticus The Sources, Text and Translation

*Eckart Schütrumpf, Susan Prince,  
Peter Stork, Johannes M. van Ophuijsen*

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## INTRODUCTION

Heraclides is called Ponticus after the city of Heraclea on the shore of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) where he was born ca. 388 B.C. At some time around 368 B.C., he left Heraclea for Athens where he studied with Plato – he is listed among his students (**2**; **3**; **6**; **7**; **9**). Plato entrusted the leadership of the Academy to him when he was away on his journey to Sicily in 361 B.C. (**3**). Diogenes Laertius associates Heraclides as well with Speusippus, with the Pythagoreans, and with Aristotle (**1**). When in 339 B.C., after the death of Speusippus, Heraclides lost the vote which decided the succession of leadership in the Academy, he returned to his native Heraclea where he probably lived for another 25 years.

Diogenes Laertius presents in his *Life of Heraclides* a list of works written by this philosopher (**1**), a list which, however, is incomplete (see **17**). On the other hand, there must have been quite early a debate whether he was actually the author of all the works found in that list. Already before the time of Plutarch, some men questioned whether Heraclides wrote the work *On the Things in the Underworld* (**80**). Matters regarding the authorship of texts attributed to Heraclides are complicated by the fact that this name was common. Diogenes Laertius ends his *Life of Heraclides* (**1**) with a list of thirteen more *authors* of the same name. The first of them carries the same geographic designation “Ponticus,” and scholars have expressed doubts whether some fragments ascribed to our Heraclides were not really the work of that *Heraclides Ponticus the younger* (see T [= the upper *apparatus testimoniorum*] to **144** 1.10–11). And the interests of another Heraclides, with the nickname Lembus, overlap with those of *Heraclides Ponticus the older* which led to at least one attribution of a text to the latter which can be shown to be wrong (see below REIECTA 3, cf. **29** n. 6). Furthermore, a text, whose author is not identified, has been attributed by scholars to Heraclides Ponticus because he seems the most likely person to have written a dialogue on the subject found there (see **155**). With few exceptions (**26B**; the texts referring to Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2) only texts in which Heraclides is named are included in this collection.

In any edition of fragments the question arises, how much of the wider context, in which a text referring to the author in question appears, should be printed. The present editor of the fragments, i.e.,



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the Greek and Latin texts appearing in this volume, Eckart Schütrumpf, has adopted as a rule the practice of not going far beyond the immediate passage referring to Heraclides.

The present collection of sources referring to the life and writings of Heraclides Ponticus differs from that produced by Fritz Wehrli (*SdA* vol. 7, 2nd ed. 1969) in that several texts included by Wehrli are not accepted here (see below REIECTA 1.–3.), while others included here cannot be found in Wehrli. The present edition differs from Wehrli in two more respects. First, Wehrli printed most of the fragments under a title found either in the text itself, or if the source did not identify the work it belonged to, Wehrli, as his predecessor O. Voss (1896) had done, assigned it to a known work on the basis of speculations about its content. This is a risky approach. Who would have assumed that Heraclides reported (or invented) a conversation between Pythagoras and the tyrant Leon of Sicyon about the first use of the term ‘philosopher’ in the work *On the Woman Not Breathing* (84)? The present edition prefers to present fragments belonging to a common theme under a heading which announces this theme. This heading is then followed by a list of those works which deal with that particular issue. And second, while Wehrli broke up continuous texts and treated small portions of them as different fragments under different headings, in this edition the original texts are preserved in their entirety.

**1** contains the complete *Life of Heraclides* as found in Diogenes Laertius, followed (**2–16**) by sources referring to Heraclides’ life. **17** provides a complete list of references to the writings by Heraclides that are quoted with a title. This comprehensive list shows not only that the list found in Diogenes Laertius (**1**) is incomplete, but also that some titles for the same work appear at times in different forms. **18–21** contain sources that refer to his writings in general, without mentioning any views he developed, and to his influence. The section **22–145** is the main part of this edition; it contains the collection of texts attributed to Heraclides which deal with specific issues of his philosophic activity. The order in which these texts are presented follows the order of the main categories as distinguished in the list of Heraclides’ writings in Diogenes Laertius (**1**). **146–55** present texts whose attribution to Heraclides is doubtful. There follows a section REIECTA listing four texts that are often attributed to Heraclides but are excluded in the present edition.



An advanced draft of the collection of sources was reviewed in its entirety by Tiziano Dorandi and Peter Stork. The former provided valuable assistance by referring to more recently published editions of sources and testimonia printed in this collection. The latter read the collection with a keen eye and discovered errors, inconsistencies and other matters that needed improvement. Both are owed special thanks.

A first draft of the translation, at that time still on the basis of Wehrli's edition, was provided by Susan Prince. This draft was reworked by Peter Stork and Jan M. van Ophuijsen. Bill Fortenbaugh was a constant source of advice both for the edition and the translation. His good judgment and enormous experience vastly improved the final form of this volume.

The footnotes to the translation were in the majority (ca. 90 percent) prepared by Schütrumpf. They were reviewed and complemented by Stork. Schütrumpf compiled the bibliography of editions used, the concordance of editions of Heraclides Ponticus, the index of sources, and the index of authors, anonymous papyri, and speakers within texts. Such a new mode of reference in chronological order seemed desirable since it provides information not revealed in the index of sources, that is, it informs the reader who actually was the ancient authority quoted in the sources. At the same time it allows one to see during which periods Heraclides Ponticus was, if not read, at least quoted. Stork compiled the index of names and places.

Daniel Delattre, who is preparing an edition of Philodemus *De Musica* (to appear in the Collection Budé, Les Belles Lettres), provided an advance copy of two passages from *PHerc.* 1497 (**115A,B**) for use in the present edition. We would like to thank Delattre for his generosity. This edition also benefited from communications with Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Dieter Harlfinger, Noel Lenski, Richard Kannicht, Lutz Koch, Wolfgang Rösler, and Bernd Seidensticker. An undergraduate student from the University of Colorado at Boulder, Matt Swoveland, downloaded the Greek texts which then could be adapted to the needs of the new edition.

The Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung provided funding that enabled Eckart Schütrumpf to do research in Berlin during the summer of 2006 and spring of 2007.



**ABBREVIATIONS**

A. General

a.	ante
add.	addidit
adn.	adnotatio, note
ad loc.	ad locum
alt.	alter(a)
ap.	apud
cap.	caput
cf.; cp.	confer
cod.	codex
codd.	codices, codicum
col.	column(a)
coll.	collato, collatis
comment.	commentarium, commentarius
corr.	correxit
del.	delevit
ibid.	ibidem
id.	idem
fl.	floruit
fort.	fortasse
fr.	fragment(um)
l.	line(a)
l.l.	locus laudatus
m.	manus
mg.	margo./marginal
om.	omisit; omittitur; omittuntur
p.	pagina
post.	posterior
propos.	proposuit
rell.	reliqui, reliquae
schol.	scholion
sec.	secundum
sim.	simile, similia
sqq.	sequentes
ss.	superscriptum
Suppl.	Supplement(um)
s.v.	sub voce
T	Testimonium
T.	Teil
t.	tomus



tit.	titulus
v.	versus
vid.	vide
vol.	volumen
vulg.	vulgata

## B. Collections, Monographs, Periodicals

<i>AbhBerlin</i>	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
Bernays, <i>GesAbh</i>	J. Bernays, <i>Gesammelte Abhandlungen</i> , ed. H. Usener, 2 vols., Berlin 1885
<i>BPhW</i>	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i> , 1881–
BT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig-Stuttgart
Burstein	St. Burstein, <i>Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea</i> , Berkeley 1976
<i>CAG</i>	<i>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</i> , 18 vols., Berlin 1883–1909
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Cambridge <sup>3</sup> 1970–
<i>CGrF</i>	C. Austin, <i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta</i> , Berlin 1973
<i>CPF</i>	<i>Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini</i> , Florence
<i>CPG</i>	E.L. v. Leutsch-F.G. Schneidewin, <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, Paroemiographi Graeci</i> , 2 vols., Göttingen 1839, 1851
Daebritz	R. Daebritz, Herakleides no. 42, <i>RE</i> VIII 1, 1913, col. 472–82
Davies, <i>APF</i>	J.K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families</i> , Oxford 1971
<i>DG</i>	H. Diels, <i>Doxographi Graeci</i> , Berlin 1879
DK	H. Diels-W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 3 vols., Zürich <sup>12</sup> 1966
Döring	K. Döring, <i>Die Megariker. Kommentierte Sammlung der Testimonien</i> , Studien zur antiken Philosophie Bd. 2, Amsterdam 1972
Düring	I. Düring, <i>Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition</i> , Göteborg 1957 ( <i>Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia</i> 5)
<i>DPhA</i>	R. Goulet (ed.), <i>Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques</i> , 4 vols. (A-Ovidius), Paris 1989–2005



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FHS&G	W.W. Fortenbaugh-P.M. Huby-R.W. Sharples & D. Gutas, <i>Theophrastus of Eresus. Sources for his life, writings, thought and influence</i> , 2 vols., Leiden 1992
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 8 vols., Leiden 1926–1958
FHG	K. (et Th.) Müller, <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> , auxerunt, notis et prolegomenis illustraverunt, 5 vols., Paris 1841–1870
Hammerstaedt	J. Hammerstaedt, <i>Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus</i> , Frankfurt 1988
GG	A. Hilgard, A. Lentz, G. Uhlig et al., <i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , Leipzig 1883–1901 (repr. 1965)
GGM	K. Müller, <i>Geographi Graeci minores</i> , 2 vols., Paris 1855–1861
Giannattasio	R. Giannattasio Andria, <i>I frammenti delle «Successioni dei filosofi»</i> , Naples 1989
Gigante	M. Gigante, <i>Diogene Laerzio, Vite dei Filosofi</i> , 2 vols., Roma-Bari 1976
GLK	H. Keil, <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 8 vols., Leipzig 1857–1870
Gottschalk	H.B. Gottschalk, <i>Heraclides of Pontus</i> , Oxford 1980
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i> , 1866–
Hirzel 1895	R. Hirzel, <i>Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch</i> , 2 Teile, Leipzig 1895
IEG	M.L. West, <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> , 2 vols., Oxford <sup>2</sup> 1989/1992
MPG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , 161 vols., Paris 1857–1866
Lévy 1926	I. Lévy, <i>Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore</i> , Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études fasc. 42, Paris 1926
LG	<i>Lexicographi Graeci. Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare</i> , Berlin, De Gruyter
LGPN	P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews et al., <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , 4 vols., Oxford 1987–2005
Miller 1868	E. Miller, <i>Mélanges de Littérature Grecque</i> , Paris 1868
N <sup>2</sup>	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta rec.</i> , Leipzig <sup>2</sup> 1889
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis), Oxford
PA	J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> , 2 vols., Berlin 1901–1903



PAA	J.S. Traill, <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> , Toronto 1994–
Parke-Wormell	H.W. Parke-D.E. Wormell, <i>The Delphic Oracle</i> , 2 vols., Oxford 1956
PCG	R. Kassel-C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 8 vols., Berlin 1983–2001
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer, <i>Callimachus</i> , 2 vols., Oxford 1949/1953
PHerc.	Papyri Herculaneenses
PMG	D.L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford 1962
P.Oxyrh.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , ed. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al., London 1898–
PP	<i>La Parola del Passato</i> . Rivista di studi Classici, 1946–
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1. Reihe 47 Halbbände; 2. Reihe 19 Halbbände; 15 Supplementbände; Stuttgart 1893–1978
Reiske	H. Diels, <i>Reiskii animadversiones in Laertium Diogenem</i> , <i>Hermes</i> 24 (1889), 302–25
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> , 1842–
Richards CR	H. Richards, <i>Laertiana</i> , CR 18 (1904), 340–46
18 (1904)	
Rohde	E. Rohde, <i>Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen</i> , 2 vols., Freiburg, Leipzig <sup>2</sup> 1898 (repr. Darmstadt 1991)
Rose <sup>2</sup>	Valentin Rose, <i>Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus</i> , Leipzig 1863
Rose <sup>3</sup>	Valentin Rose, <i>Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta</i> , Berlin 1886 (repr. Stuttgart 1966)
RUSCH	W.W. Fortenbaugh (ed.), <i>Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities</i> , New Brunswick-London (Transaction), Demetrius of Phalerum, vol. 9, 2000; Dicaearchus of Messana, vol. 10, 2001; Lyco of Troas and Hieronymus of Rhodes, vol. 12, 2003
Schrader, <i>Philologus</i> 44, 1885	H. Schrader, <i>Heraclidea. Ein beitrage zur beurtheilung der schriftstellerischen thätigkeit des (älteren) Pontikers Herakleides und des Herakleides Lembos</i> , <i>Philologus</i> 44 (1885) 236–61
Schütrumpf-Gehrke	E. Schütrumpf-H.-J. Gehrke, <i>Aristoteles Politik Buch IV–VI</i> , übersetzt und eingeleitet, in: <i>Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung</i> Bd. 9, Teil III, Berlin-Darmstadt 1996



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*Hermes* 44 (1909)    481–502
- SdA                    F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, 10 vols., Basel <sup>2</sup>1967–1969: Aristoxenos, Heft II; Klearchus, Heft III; Lykon und Ariston von Keos, Heft VI; Herakleides Pontikos, Heft VII; Phainias von Eresos. Chamaileon. Praxiphanes, Heft IX; Hieronymos von Rhodos. Kritolaos und seine Schüler, Heft X; Hermippos der Kallimacheer, Suppl. Bd. 1; Sotion, Suppl. Bd. 2
- SFOD                P. Stork, W.W. Fortenbaugh, T. Dorandi, J. van Ophuijsen, Lyco of Troas, in: W.W. Fortenbaugh-S. A. White (eds.), *Lyco of Troas and Hieronymus of Rhodes: Text, Translation, and Discussion*, *RUSCH* vol. XII, pp. 1–78, 2003
- SGLG                Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker, Berlin
- F. Susemihl,        F. Susemihl, *BPhW* 26. Februar 1898, 18. Jahrg., No 9,  
*BPhW* 1898        pp. 257–68 (review of Voss)
- SVF                  I. ab (H. von) Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1903–1905
- TrGF                B. Snell – R. Kannicht – St. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols., Göttingen 1971–2004 (vol. 1, <sup>2</sup>1986)
- Voss                O. Voss, *De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis*, Phil. Diss., Rostock 1896
- Us.                  H. Usener, *Epicurea*, Leipzig 1887 (repr. 1966)
- Welcker            F.G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet*, *RhM* 2. Suppl. Bd. 3. Abt., Bonn 1841
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Varro	W.A. Krenkel, <i>Marcus Terentius Varro Saturae Menippeae</i> , herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert, 4 vols., St. Katharinen 2002
Xenocr.	M. Isnardi Parente, <i>Senocrate–Ermodoro. Frammenti. Edizione, traduzione e commento</i> , Naples 1982
Zonar.	J.A.H. Tittmann, <i>Johannis Zonarae lexicon</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig 1808 (repr. Amsterdam 1967)

Conspectus Signorum

<α>	littera ab editore addita/suppleta
[α]	littera ab editore expuncta
† †	locus nondum sanatus
***	spatium vacuum
「 』	littera apographi (Neapolitani vel Oxoniensis) ab editore mutata
α	littera in papyro mutila vel dubia
[[α]]	littera in papyro a librario expuncta
`α´	littera in papyro super lineam scripta
[..]	litterae in papyro deperditae
...	reliquiae litterarum in papyro
[. . .] [---]	lacuna in papyro ubi litterarum deperditarum numerus definiri non potest
[α]	littera in papyro ab editore suppleta
{α}	littera in papyro ab editore expuncta ☿ ☿





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I. VITA

- 1 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 5.86–94 (BT t.1, p.368.3–374.15 Marcovich)

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

86 3 W      Ἡρακλείδης Εὐθύφρωνος Ἡρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου, ἀνὴρ πλούσιος. Ἀθήνησι δὲ παρέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν Σπेυσίπῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων διήκουσε καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐξηλώκει· καὶ ὕστερον ἤκουσεν Ἀριστοτέλους, ὥς φησι Σωτίων ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρήτο καὶ 5

2–8 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.10–13 Marcovich)* Ἡρακλείδης ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρήτο καὶ ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι.      2–6 *Sotion SdA (Suppl. t.2) fr. 17*      3–4 *Speus. T 36 Tarán*  
4–5 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid.* **2; 3; 6; 7; 9; 30; 72; 85; 117A**

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1 *tit. P<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup> in mg (v.2 ἡρακλείδης omisso)*      4 *πυθαγορίων B*      4–5 *τῶν Πυθαγορείων - ἐξηλώκει postea inserta esse suspicatur Schwartz, Hermes 44 (1909), 481 adn. 1, cf. Voss p.12–3*      6 *τε om. F*



## I. LIFE

- 1 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86–94 (BT v.1, p.368.3–374.15 Marcovich)

### HERACLIDES

- 86 Heraclides son of Euthyphron<sup>1</sup> (was) a citizen of Heraclea on (the coast of) the Black Sea (Pontus<sup>2</sup>): he was a wealthy man. In Athens he first attached himself to Speusippus,<sup>3</sup> but he also attended lectures by the Pythagoreans and had zealously embraced (the teaching of) Plato. And later he heard Aristotle lecture,<sup>4</sup> as Sotion<sup>5</sup> says in (the) *Successions*. He wore soft

<sup>1</sup> According to **3** he was the son of Euphron. However, the name Euthyphron found here is given by Hermippus as well (below §91) and is supported by **4**: Heraclides' son had the name Euthyphron, like his grandfather, as was ancient Greek custom.

<sup>2</sup> “Of Heraclea on (the coast of) the Black Sea” is in Greek Ἡρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου. Hicks (1925) translates: “born at Heraclea in the Pontus.” But Heraclea was situated in the region of Bithynia. A kingdom ‘Pontus’ was established by the Macedonians (Strabo 12.1.4; 3.1) and gained influence through Mithridates Ktistes (‘The Founder’) in the early 3rd century B.C. ‘Pontus’ must here mean “Black Sea”; correctly Jacoby, *FGrH* Dritter Teil, p. 325, XXIV: “Herakleia am Pontus,” cp. Chr. M. Danoff, “Pontos Euxeinos,” *RE* Suppl. IX (1962) 951; 954.

<sup>3</sup> Speusippus, ca. 407–339 B.C., was an Athenian philosopher, a member of Plato's Academy and successor of Plato as head of the Academy in the years 347–339 B.C. The statement that Heraclides was first a student of Speusippus, and not of Plato, is best explained by the fact that Heraclides arrived in Athens when Plato was away for his second journey to Sicily (367/6), see Susemihl, *BPhW* 18, 1898, 258. The fragments of Speusippus' writings are collected in L. Tarán, *Speusippos of Athens. A critical study with a collection of the related texts and commentary*, Leiden 1981 (= *Philosophia Antiqua*, 39).

<sup>4</sup> Since Heraclides Ponticus left Athens after the death of Speusippus (**10**) when Aristotle was no longer living in Athens, Sotion must have referred to lectures of Aristotle while he was still a member of the Academy, see U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin 1893, vol. 1, p. 341; Wehrli, *SdA* Suppl. vol. 2, p. 50. The place of the *Life of Heraclides Ponticus* in Diog. Laert. book 5, which contains the lives of members of the Peripatos, shows that the affiliation of Heraclides Ponticus with the Peripatos was part of the tradition, cp. Wehrli p. 61. In **79**, Heraclides is mentioned in a list of Peripatetics after Aristotle and Theophrastus, cp. **106**. However, according to



	ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀπτικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι. πρῶός τε ἦν τὸ βά- 22 W δισμα καὶ σεμνός. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα· † διάλογοι †, ὧν ἠθικὰ μὲν	10
48-51 W	Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ'	
52 W	ἐν δὲ Περὶ σωφροσύνης	
46-7 W	Περὶ τε εὐσεβείας α'	
53 W	καὶ Περὶ ἀνδρείας α'	15
87 54 W	κοινῶς τε Περὶ ἀρετῆς α'	
44 W	καὶ ἄλλο Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α'	
144-5 W	Περὶ τε ἀρχῆς α'	
146-50 W	καὶ Νόμων α' καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις	
164 W	Περὶ ὀνομάτων α'	20
151 W	Συνθῆκαι α'	
63 W	Ἀκούσιος α'	

7 σῶμα BPFΦ: σχῆμα Hemsterhuis 8–9 βάδισμα BPF, fort. recte, cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. 5.8, 1125a12–3 *de motu viri magnanimi*: βλέμμα Cobet Wehrli - an καὶ ante τὸ βάδισμα transferendum? 10 ante ἄριστα addunt τά τε BP<sup>1</sup>: expunxit P<sup>2</sup> † † indicavi: διάλογοι del. Hirzel 1895, T.1, p.322 adn.1: καὶ ante διάλογοι add. Schrader, Philologus 44 (1885), 239 adn. 7: συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ <πλείστα>· τά τε ἄριστα διάλογοι Voss p.20 - an aliquid post διάλογοι excidit? De tabula titulorum perturbata et mutilata vid. Wehrli p.65 14 περὶ τ' εὐσεβείας ε' Cobet (Wehrli fr. 46, p.19, sed α' ibid. fr. 22), at vid. infra v. 66 τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας 15 ἀνδρείας P 17 post ἄλλο distinxerunt Cobet Long 18 τε BPF: τῆς Huebner (e Menagiana), Cobet, at vid. Diog. Laert. 1.94 (= 28) ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς 19 α' post τούτοις transtulit Marcovich καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις additamentum ad duo libros sequentes esse putat Voss p.29 adn. 1



clothing and his figure was excessively large, with the result that the inhabitants of Attica called him not Ponticus but Pompicus (Pompous). He was both gentle in his gait and dignified. There are in circulation writings of his of the greatest beauty and highest quality. (There are) †dialogues†, of which

ethical (writings<sup>6</sup> are)

*On Justice*, three books = **17** (1)

and one *On Self-control* = **17** (2)

and *On Piety*, one book = **17** (3)

and *On Courage*, one book = **17** (4)

87 and *On Virtue* in general,<sup>7</sup> one book = **17** (5)

and another *On Happiness*, one book = **17** (6)

*On Governance*, one book = **17** (6)

and one book of *Laws* = **17** (8a) and of related subjects

*On Names*, one book = **17** (9)

*Contracts*, one book = **17** (10)

*Involuntary*, one book = **17** (11)

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Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 46 (cp. p. 329 n. 14), this was a mistake of Diog. Laert. The *Life of Heraclides* should have found its place in book 4. See, however, Voss p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Sotion was the author of an influential work on the Successions of Philosophers (Διαδοχαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων) in at least 23 books (Diog. Laert. 1.1; 7), written between 200 and 170 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> The grammatical gender of “ethical” (ἠθικά) agrees with “writings” (συγγράμματα), not with preceding “dialogues” (διάλογοι). “Dialogues” is either an interpolation, or something is missing in this list (cp. the conjectures of Schrader and Voss). This assumption is the more likely since the titles “*Expositions of Heraclitus*, four books” [below §88 = **17** (41)] and “*Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book” [below §88 = **17** (42)] are listed under the heading “musical” to which they hardly belong.

<sup>7</sup> By capitalizing “In general” (Κοινῶς) and writing περὶ in lower case, Marcovich (*BT* p.368.19) understands “in general” as part of a title *Generally on Virtue*, not as the description of the content of the work by the compiler of the list as is clearly the case with “in a separate treatise” below = **17** (16); Voss p. 29; see next note. Particularly at the beginning of the catalogue it is obvious that the compiler attempts more than just listing titles in a schematic way. He attempts stylistic variety (cp. ἐν δὲ Περὶ σωφροσύνης after Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ’), he uses connecting particles, again applying variety (δέ; καί; τε, no longer found after l. 29). Only here there are comments added concerning the contents of individual works (συγγενῶν, l. 19) or the relationship to other works in the list (καὶ ἄλλο, l. 17; καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν l. 27, see next note). The word “in general” (κοινῶς) understood as an addition by the compiler of the list is in character with similar features the list exhibits at its beginning.



62, 64-6 W	Ἐρωτικὸς ἢ Κλεινίας α΄ , φυσικὰ δὲ	
43 W	Περὶ νοῦ	25
90 -	Περὶ ψυχῆς	
103 W	καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν Περὶ ψυχῆς	
118 -	καὶ Περὶ φύσεως	
123 W	καὶ Περὶ εἰδώλων	
36 W	Πρὸς Δημόκριτον	30
104-17 W	Περὶ τῶν <έν> οὐρανῶ α΄	
71-2 W	Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου	
45 W	Περὶ βίων α΄ β΄	
76-89 W	Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α΄	
42 W	Περὶ τάγαθοῦ α΄	35
34 W	Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α΄	
35 W	Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α΄ , γραμματικὰ δὲ	
176-7 W	Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α΄ β΄	
178 W	Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου α΄ β΄ , καὶ μουσικὰ δὲ	40
180 W	Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α΄ β΄ γ΄	
157 W	Περὶ μουσικῆς α΄ β΄	
88 171 W	Λύσεων Ὀμηρικῶν α΄ β΄	
28 W	Θεωρηματικὸν α΄	45
179 W	Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγωδοποιῶν α΄	
165 W	Χαρακτήρες α΄	
166 W	Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α΄	
31 W	Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α΄	
142 W	Προοπτικῶν α΄	50

46 I.e. Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, cf. Satyr. T 3a (p. 79) Schorn Σατύρου  
Βίων ἀναγ<ρ>αφῆς 5 ' Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου; Dion. Hal.  
De imitat. 2.6.10; Cic. De orat. 3.7.27

23 α΄ post Ἐρωτικὸς inseruit Marcovich, distinguens Κλεινίας α΄ titulum  
sui iuris ἢ Gigante 1976, t.2, p.521 adn. 188: καὶ BPF 25–6 Περὶ νοῦ  
<καὶ> περὶ ψυχῆς, Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 313, cf. Voss pp.30–1 30 Post  
Δημόκριτον distinxerunt Huebner Marcovich: 30–1 unus titulus in BPF, at  
cf. titulum infra v. 32 = 17 (22) Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου 31 τῶν <έν> οὐρανῶ  
Stephanus: τῶν οὐρανῶν BPF 33 α΄ om. F 36 et 37 τὰ Stephanus: τὸ  
BPF 37 α΄ F: om. BP 39 et 40 α΄ om. F 41 om. F 43 γ΄ add. Meursius  
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- (*Dialogue*) concerning Love or Clinias, one book = **17** (12)  
 and (writings) on physics (are)  
*On Mind* = **17** (14)  
*On Soul* = **17** (15)  
 and *On Soul* in a separate treatise<sup>8</sup> = **17** (16)  
 and *On Nature* = **17** (17)  
 and *On Images* = **17** (19)  
*In Reply to Democritus* **17** (20)  
*On the Things <in> Heaven*, one book = **17** (21)  
*On the Things in the Underworld* = **17** (22)  
*On Lives*, books 1, 2 = **17** (23)  
*Causes relating to Diseases*, one book = **17** (24a)  
*On the Good*, one book = **17** (25)  
*In Reply to the (doctrines) of Zeno*, one book = **17** (26)  
*In Reply to the (doctrines) of Metron*,<sup>9</sup> one book = **17** (27)  
 and grammatical (writings are)  
*On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, books 1, 2 = **17** (28)  
*On Archilochus and Homer*, books 1, 2 = **17** (29)  
 and musical (writings are)  
*On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles*, books 1, 2, 3 = **17** (31)  
*On Music*, books 1, 2 = **17** (33a)  
 88 *Solutions to Homeric (Questions)*, books 1, 2 = **17** (34)  
*Theoretic*, one book = **17** (35)  
*On the Three Tragic Poets*, one book = **17** (36)  
*Characters*, one book = **17** (37)  
*On Poetics and the Poets*, one book = **17** (38)  
*On Conjecture*, one book = **17** (39)  
*Foreseeings*, one book = **17** (40)

<sup>8</sup> “In a separate treatise” (καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν), see previous note. For the form of distinction of two works by the same author on a related subject, cp. Cic. *De leg.* 2.14: “Plato, qui princeps de re publica conscripsit idemque *separatim* de legibus eius.”

<sup>9</sup> Metron is otherwise unknown, see Wehrli p. 69.



39 W	Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ'	
37 W	Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α'	
32 W	Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α' β'	
30 W	Ἀξίωμα α'	
29 W	Περὶ εἰδῶν α'	55
118-23 W	Λύσεις α'	
67 W	Ὑποθήκαι α'	
38 W	Πρὸς Διονύσιον α', ῥητορικὰ δὲ	
33 W	Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας. ἱστορικά.	60
40-1 W	Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων	
152 W	καὶ Περὶ εὐρημάτων.	
22 W	τούτων τὰ μὲν κωμικῶς πέπλακεν, ὥς τὸ Περὶ ἡδο-	
	νῆς καὶ Περὶ σωφροσύνης· τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὥς τὸ Περὶ	65
62,1 W	τῶν καθ' Ἄιδην καὶ τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἐξου-	
	σίας.	
89 25 W	ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ μεσότης τις ὁμητικὴ φιλοσόφων	
	τε καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλή-	
	λους διαλεγομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ	70
	διαλεκτικά. ἄλλως τε ἐν ἅπασι ποικίλος τε καὶ διηρμένος	
	τὴν λέξιν ἔστι καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν ἱκανῶς δυνάμενος.	
11 W	δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶ-	
	σαι, τὸν μοναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης	

55 Cf. eandem inscriptionem operis Theophrasti fr. 1 v.100 FHS&G 73–84; 90 Demetr. Magn. fr. 18 Mejer, Hermes 109 (1981) 463 73–90 Hippobot. fr. 7 Gigante

52 Πρὸς τὸν editio Frobeniana: πρὸς D: πρῶτον BP: πρῶτων F δημοκριτίων F 53 α' om. F 54 om. F 61 om. F 62 τῶν om. P et editio Frobeniana 65 τὸ ante περὶ σωφροσύνης add. Voss p.21 65–6 περὶ τὸν καθάδην B 70 ἔστιν scripsi: ἔστιν editores



*Expositions of Heraclitus*, four books<sup>10</sup> = **17** (41)

*Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book = **17** (42)

*Solutions to Eristic (Arguments)*, books 1, 2 = **17** (43)

*Axiom*, one book = **17** (44)

*On Forms*, one book = **17** (45)

*Solutions*, one book = **17** (46)

*Instructions*, one book = **17** (47)

*In Reply to Dionysius*, one book = **17** (48)

and rhetorical (writings are)

*On Public Speaking or Protagoras* = **17** (49)

historical (writings are)

*On the Pythagoreans* = **17** (50)

and *On Discoveries* = **17** (51)

Of these writings he has composed some in a comic manner, such as the one *On Pleasure* [= **17** (13)] and (the one) *On Self-control* [= **17** (2)], and others in a tragic manner, such as the one *On the Things in the Underworld* [= **17** (22)] and the one *On Piety* [= **17** (3)] and the one *On Power* [= **17** (52)].

89 He has as well a certain middle style of conversation, representing philosophers and generals and statesmen in discussion with each other. But there are also writings on geometry from him and dialectical writings. And otherwise in all his writings he is varied and lofty in his style and sufficiently able to capture the mind.

He (Heraclides) is believed to have liberated his country from tyranny by killing the monarch,<sup>11</sup> as Demetrius of Magnesia<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For this and the following title, see above n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> This act of tyrannicide is falsely attributed to Heraclides Ponticus. Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea, was killed in 352 B.C. by a student of Plato, Chion of Heraclea (Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. VI, ed. Dorandi 1991, p.135), and others (cp. *RE* XI 1, 578; Burstein p. 64 with n. 126; 127 on p. 134), without the involvement of Heraclides Ponticus. The account by Demetrius of Magnesia must contain a confusion with Heraclides of Ainos (Daebritz *RE* VIII 1, 473), a student of Plato as well (Diog. Laert. 3.46 = **6**), who, together with his brother Python, murdered the king of the Odryses, Cotys I, in 359 B.C. See Arist. *Pol.* 5.10, 1311b20–2 with Schütrumpf-Gehrke, note on 1311b20; Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 32 1126C; K. Trampedach, *Platon. Die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik*, *Hermes EZ* 66, Stuttgart 1994, 90–2.

<sup>12</sup> Demetrius of Magnesia, 1st century B.C., friend of Atticus, wrote on *Cit-*



- 16 W ἐν Ὀμωνύμοις. ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· θρέψαι 75  
αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα· ἐπεὶ <δὲ> τελευ-  
τᾶν ἔμελλε, κελεύσαι τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κα-  
τακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα  
90 δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβιβηκέναι. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ  
μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων τὸν Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ 80  
εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδου τῶν  
ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξ-  
εκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει,  
ἀλλ' οἷος ἦν.  
καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· 85  
ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη,  
ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων.  
ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θῆρ  
ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θῆρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὢν ἐάλως.  
ταῦτα δὲ φησι καὶ Ἰππόβοτος. 90

75–84 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.13–21 Marcovich)* οὗτος  
ἔθρεψε δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα· ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν,  
ἐκέλευσέ τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, κτλ. *ad* οἷος ἦν  
*sine mutatione verborum.*— 259.13 αὐξηθέντα *BPF*: αὐξηθέντος *Marco-*  
*vich, falso, vid. app. crit. ad v. 76* 86–8–9 = *Anth. Pal. 7.114*

76 αὐξηθέντος *Φ* ἐπειδὴ *codd.*: ἐπεὶ δὲ *vel* ἐπειδὴ δὲ *conieci* 77  
τινι *BPΦ*: τινὰ *F* αὐτοῦ *Huebner*: αὐτοῦ *BPFΦ* 79 πάντα *BPΦ*  
*Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.17 Marcovich)*: ταῦτα *F* 82  
διετάραξε *BP*: ἐτάραξε *F* τοὺς πλείους *Φ* 86 ἤλυθες *Pal.*<sup>1</sup> 87  
ἅπασι *BPF et Pal.*: ἀπαρτί *Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 313* 90 ταῦτα *BPF*  
(*cf. Diog. Laert. 9.5* τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἰππόβοτός φησι): ταῦτα *Wilamowitz,*  
*Antigonos von Karystos, 1881, p.46 adn. 3; Gigante (ad Hippobotum fr. 7),*  
*coll. Diog. Laert. 9.40*



says in (his) (*Authors*) of the Same Name. He (Demetrius) tells also something like this about him: he raised a snake from the time when it was young and after it had grown up, <and><sup>13</sup> when he was about to die, he told one of his trusted attendants to conceal his own body and to put the snake on the bier, so that he would appear to have passed over to the company of the gods.

90 And all these things took place. And when the citizens were in the middle of escorting him to the grave and were speaking his praise, the snake heard the shouting, came out from the funerary attire, and scared most of the crowd. Later, however, all was revealed, and Heraclides was seen not as he was thought to be, but as he was.

And we have written something for him like this:

You wanted to leave a reputation to mankind, Heraclides,  
that after death you became alive to all as a snake,  
but you were deceived, you subtle schemer. For, indeed,  
the beast

was a snake, and you were found out to be a beast, not a  
smart person.

And Hippobotus<sup>14</sup> also says these things.

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ies with the same Name (Περὶ ὁμωνύμων πόλεων) and *On Poets and Authors of the same Name* (Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων). See J. Mejer, “Demetrius of Magnesia. On poets and authors of the same name,” *Hermes* 109 (1981) 447–72; *DPhA* 2 D 52.

<sup>13</sup> Since the snake Heraclides had raised was *young* (θρέψαι ... ἐκ νέου, see Menagius; cp. about raising young animals ἐκ νέων λαμβάνοντες ὥσπερ λέοντας Plat. *Gorg.* 483E5–6), the following remark about “having grown up” must refer to the snake as well (cp. codd. Diog. Laert. *Excerpt. Byzant.*, v. 2, p. 259.13 Marcovich). The particle καὶ connects, therefore, only these statements about the age of the snake. A particle is needed that connects the two infinitives θρέψαι and κελεῦσαι, see *app. crit.*

<sup>14</sup> Hippobotus, late 3rd century B.C., historian of philosophy, wrote *On the Schools of Philosophy* and *List of Philosophers*. The fragments are collected in M. Gigante, “Frammenti di Ippoboto. Contributo alla storia della storiografia filosofica,” in: A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Omaggio a Piero Treves*, Università di Venezia, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Padova 1983; cp. *DPhA* 3 H 148.



- 91 14a W Ἑρμιππος δὲ λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν φησὶν αἰτεῖν  
τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας τὴν Πυθίαν λύσιν. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλεί-  
δην διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τοὺς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τὴν προειρη-  
μένην, ὥστ' ἀνελεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, εἰ ζῶν 95  
μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Εὐθύφρωνος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφα-  
νωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανῶν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῶτο.  
ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὦναντο οἱ πλάσαν-  
τες αὐτόν. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ὁ  
Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἳ τε θεωροὶ καταλευ-  
σθέντες διεφθάρησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν 100  
κατιοῦσα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ἐπιστάσα ἐνὶ τῶν δρακόντων  
δηχθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν θά-  
νατον αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.
- 92 181 W φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ τραγωδίας αὐ-  
176 W τὸν ποιεῖν καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν. Χαμαιλέων τε 105  
τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῷ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτόν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ  
48 W Ὀμήρου γράψαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀντίδωρος <ὁ> Ἐπικούρειος  
13a W ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς Περί δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων. ἔτι καὶ

91–102 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant.* (t.2, p.259.22–260.5 *Marcovich*) Τινὲς δέ φασιν ὡς λιμοῦ τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας κατασχόντος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης χρήμασι διαφθείρας τὴν τε Πυθίαν καὶ τοὺς θεωροὺς ἔπεισεν εἰπεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, εἰ ζῶν μὲν Ἡρακλείδης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανῶν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῶτο. ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὦναντο οἱ πλάσαντες αὐτόν, κτλ. *ad* ἀπέπνευσε, *solum* ἐπιστάσα *omisso*.- 259.22–3 κατασχόντας *Marcovich*, *vix recte*, cf. *Diog. Laert.* κατασχόντος 91–103 *Hermipp. SdA (Suppl. 1) fr. 42; FGrH (IVA, fasc. 3) F 71 Bollansée* 104–5 *Aristox. SdA (t.2) fr. 114; TrGF (t.1, p.263) no. 93 (“Heraclides Ponticus?”)* 105–7 *Chamael. SdA (t.9) fr. 46; fr. 47 Giordano* 106–7 *De Hesiodo et Homero, vid. 17 (28) 107 nomen Antidori corruptum arbitratur Wehrli (fr. 48 et adn. p.75), cum Antidorus, cuius in Diog. Laert. 10.8 (= Epicur. fr. 238 Us.) mentio fit, non in numero Epicureorum referatur, sed philosophus sit, contra quem Epicurus libros scripserit (Diog. Laert. 10.28 = Epicur. fr. 3, p.92.13–21 Us.). At duo philosophi eiusdem nominis existisse videntur, unus Epicureus et alter “nescio cuius sectae et ab Epicuro duobus libris impugnatus et a Colote” (Usener p.400, cf. p.93.7), vid. B.A. Müller, *RE Suppl. t. III, col.120–1**

91 λιμοῦ *PFΦ*: λοιμοῦ *B* 94 ἀνελεῖν *Richards, CR 18 (1904), 345*:  
ἀνειπεῖν *BPF*: εἰπεῖν *Φ* τῶν κακῶν *BPΦ*: τοῦ κακοῦ *F* 95–6  
στεφανωθείη *PΦ*: στεφανωθῇ *BF* 99–100 καταλευσθέντες *Kuehn*:  
κατακυλισθέντες *BPFΦ* 106 ἑαυτῷ *codd.*: ἑαυτοῦ *Cobet* 107  
----→



- 91 Hermippus<sup>15</sup> says that when a famine seized the land, the citizens of Heraclea asked the Pythia for relief. But (according to Hermippus) Heraclides bribed both the sacred envoys and the said Pythia, so as to make her reply that they would be released from their distress if they would crown Heraclides, son of Euthyphron, with a golden crown while alive,<sup>16</sup> and when dead honor him as a demi-god (*hêrô̄s*). The (pretended) oracle was brought home, but those who forged it gained nothing. For immediately on being crowned in the theater, Heraclides was struck with paralysis, and the envoys to the oracle were stoned to death. But also the Pythia in the same hour, as she went down into the innermost shrine (*adyton*) and stepped upon one of the snakes, was bitten and breathed her last on the spot. And so much about his death.
- 92 Aristoxenus the musician says that he (Heraclides) also wrote tragedies and ascribed them to Thespis.<sup>17</sup> And Chamaeleon<sup>18</sup> says that Heraclides wrote his books about Hesiod and Homer after stealing the material from him. But Antidorus the Epicurean too censures him (Heraclides), disputing his (books) *On Justice*.<sup>19</sup> In

<sup>15</sup> Hermippus, of Smyrna (see **82**), 3rd century B.C., was a student of Callimachus whose work he continued. His writings focused on biographies of famous men. The fragments are collected in J. Bollansée, *Hermippos of Smyrna*, in: *FGrH* Part 4, IV A, Fasc. 3, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999; cp. *DPhA* 3 H 86.

<sup>16</sup> For coronation see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 38, Berlin 1982, pp. 153–61.

<sup>17</sup> The first scholar to argue that the few preserved lines from plays ascribed to Thespis cannot come from his tragedies but must have been written by Heraclides Ponticus was R. Bentley, “Dissertation upon Phalaris,” now in: *R. Bentley, The Works*, ed. by A. Dyce (1836–1838), vol. 1, London 1836 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1971), pp. 289–96. Bentley’s hypothesis, which has been rejected by some scholars, is supported by the fact that Heraclides is the only author we know of who wrote under the name of Thespis, see below **150–4**.

<sup>18</sup> Chamaeleon, of Heraclea on the coast of the Black Sea, was a Peripatetic philosopher and younger contemporary of Heraclides. The fragments are collected in *SdA* vol. 9 and by Giordano; cp. *DPhA* 2 C 93.

<sup>19</sup> Or, reading τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης: “his (views) on justice.”

Ἀντίδωρος *Menagius* (coll. *Diog. Laert.* 10.8): ἀντόδωρος *BPF*: Ἀὐτόδωρος *Stephanus* (*exempla nominis Antodori vel Autodori desunt, cum exempla nominis Antidori abundant, cf. LGPN t.2, p.35 et alib.*) ὁ add. *Cobet*



- 93 Διονύσιος ὁ Μεταθέμενος (ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι) γράψας  
τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας 110  
εἷς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρήτο μαρτυρίοις ὡς Σο-  
φοκλέους. αἰσθόμενος δὴ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ  
γεγονός· τοῦ δ' ἄρνουμένου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος ἐπέστειλεν  
ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε ΠΑΓΚΑΛΟΣ· οὗτος δ' ἦν 115  
ἐρώμενος Διονυσίου. ὡς δ' ἔτι ἀπιστῶν ἔλεγε κατὰ τύχην  
ἐνδέχεσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, πάλιν ἀντεπέστειλεν ὁ Διονύσιος  
ὅτι 'καὶ ταῦτα εὐρήσεις·  
– γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἀλίσκεται πάγη·  
– ἀλίσκεται μέν, μετὰ χρόνον δ' ἀλίσκεται.  
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις· 120  
– 'Ηρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται.'  
ὁ δ' ἡσχύνθη.  
γεγόνασι δ' 'Ηρακλείδαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· πρῶτος  
αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πυρρίχας καὶ φλυα-  
94 ρίας συντεταγμένος· τρίτος Κυμαῖος, γεγραφὼς Περσικὰ 125  
ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις· τέταρτος Κυμαῖος, ῥήτωρ τέχνας γεγρα-

109–22 cf. *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant.* (t.2, p.260.6–18 Marcovich)  
Διονύσιος (ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι) γράψας τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον  
ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ 'Ηρακλείδης πιστεύσας, κτλ. *nullis verbis  
mutatis praeter ultima*: 'Ηρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται καὶ ἐπὶ  
τούτοις οὐκ ἡσχύνθη. 109 *Dionysius vid.* **5**; **11**; *Epicur. fr.* 402; *fr.* 511  
(p.315.7–10) *Us.*; *DPhA* 2 D 82 (*Denys d' Héraclée*) 109–12 *Dionysius  
TrGF* (t.1, p.282) no.113 109–22 (ἡσχύνθη) = *Dionysius SVF* (t.1) no.  
425; *Spintharus TrGF* (t.1) no. 40 T 3 118–19 *proverbium*: *Apostolius*  
(*CPG* t.2, p.343) 5.37; 37a ("ex *Diog. Laert.* 5.93 *petita*"); *Suda* Γ 203 (s.v.  
Γέρων πίθηκος κτλ.) et Π 1580 (s.v. Πίθηκος - om. πάγη); *verbo* ἀλώπηξ  
*pro* πίθηκος *substituto*, Γ 202 (s.v. Γέρων ἀλώπηξ κτλ.); *Zenobius Cent.*  
2.90 (*CPG* t.1, p.55), cf. *Ovid. Ars amator.* 1.478: *Capta vides sero Pergama,  
capta tamen*

112 δὴ BΦ: δὲ *Suda* Π 449 (s.v. Παραστιχίς = **11**): δ' P: om. F ὁ om.  
F 114 παγκάλως *Suda* Π 449 (s.v. Παραστιχίς = **11**) 118 *hunc ver-  
sum interrogationem esse mavult Voss* p.17 121 γράμματ' *Voss* p.17, *Snell*  
(*TrGF* t.1, p.169) *trimetrum restituens* 122 ὁ δ' *Nauck*<sup>2</sup> (p.840 *adn.*): οὐδ'  
BPF 124–5 φλυαρίας *codd.*: φλύακας *Wilamowitz*



yet another example, Dionysius, the defector, or Spintharus,<sup>20</sup> as some say, wrote the *Parthenopaeus*<sup>21</sup> and attributed it to Sophocles. And he (Heraclides), believing (it was genuine), used it in one of his own writings as testimony as if it were by Sophocles.<sup>22</sup>

93 On finding him out, Dionysius revealed to him what had happened. When Heraclides denied it and would not believe him, he told him to look at the acrostic: and this comprised (the name) PANKALOS [“All-beautiful”]: this individual was the beloved of Dionysius. When Heraclides was still unconvinced and said this could have happened by chance, Dionysius once again sent him back, saying “you will find these (lines) as well:

- An old monkey is not caught in a trap;
- Caught he is, but he is caught after a time.

And in addition to these lines:

Heraclides does not know his letters.”

Then he (Heraclides) felt ashamed.

There have been fourteen men named Heraclides: first the one dealt with here; second his fellow citizen,<sup>23</sup> who has written war  
94 dances and foolish trifles; the third of Cyme, author of a work on Persian affairs in five books;<sup>24</sup> the fourth of Cyme, an orator who

<sup>20</sup> Since Spintharus made fun of the *old* Heraclides (“an old monkey ... is caught after a time”), therefore at some time in the second half of the fourth century, he cannot be the Spintharus who was vilified as a foreigner by Aristophanes, *Birds* 762 (*TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 2 — he is assumed to be the same person as the tragedian Spintharus from Heraclea Pontica, cp. *TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 1) and belonged to the second half of the fifth century (born *ca.* 445, see F. Susemihl, *RhM* 49, 1894, 475–6), see Voss p. 17; Susemihl, *BPhW* 18, 1898, 261. Kannicht (*TrGF* vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 349 note to p. 159.39 T 4) cites reasons why *TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 4 should be removed from the testimonia for Spintharus. Hicks understands Spintharus (σπίνθαρος) as another nickname of Dionysius, *i.e.*, “the Spark.”

<sup>21</sup> Parthenopaeus was one of the “Seven against Thebes,” who tried to restore Oedipus’ son Polynices as king of Thebes.

<sup>22</sup> A short version of the account which starts here is found in *Suda* Π (Pi) 449 = 11.

<sup>23</sup> Heraclides Ponticus “the younger”, 1st century A.D., grammarian, lived in Rome under Claudius and Nero, see *Suda* Η (Eta) 463, v.2, p.582.1–9 (Adler); *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 49, col. 487–8.

<sup>24</sup> Heraclides of Cyme, probably from the mid-fourth century BC, wrote *Persica*, see *FGrH* 689 T 1, cp. 696 F 30.



φώς· πέμπτος Καλλατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γεγραφὼς  
 τὴν Διαδοχὴν ἐν ἑξ βιβλίοις καὶ Λεμβευτικὸν λόγον, ὅθεν  
 καὶ Λέμβος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γεγραφὼς τὰ  
 Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα· ἑβδομος διαλεκτικὸς Βαργυληΐτης, 130  
 κατ' Ἐπικούρου γεγραφὼς· ὄγδοος ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰκεσί-  
 ου· ἑνατος ἰατρὸς Ταραντίνος, ἐμπειρικός· δέκατος ποιητι-  
 κός, παραινέσεις γεγραφὼς· ἐνδέκατος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς  
 Φωκαεὺς· δωδέκατος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴς λιγυρός·  
 τρισκαιδέκατος Μάγνης, Μιθραδατικὰ γεγραφὼς· τεσσα- 135  
 ρεσκαιδέκατος ἀστρολογούμενα συγγεγραφὼς.

126 Heraclides Cymaeus, scripsit Persica: FGrH 689 T 1, saec. quart. a. Chr., cf. FGrH 696 F 30; RE t.VIII 1, no. 42 (col. 469–70)      130 De Heraclide dialectico Barguleite, qui scripsit contra Epicurum, vid. RE t. VIII 1, no. 39 (col. 469); de controversia inter Epicurum et dialecticos existente vid. Epicur. fr. 238 Us. (= Diog. Laert. 10.8); Vit. Epicuri 24 (p.368.15–369.1 Us.); 31 (p.371.4 Us.)



wrote works on the art (of rhetoric); fifth (Heraclides) of Callatis or Alexandria, who wrote (the work) *the Succession* in six books and a treatise titled *Lembeuticus* whence he received the nickname “Lembus”;<sup>25</sup> sixth a man from Alexandria, who wrote on matters peculiar to Persia;<sup>26</sup> seventh the dialectician of Bargylia, who wrote against Epicurus; eighth a physician who belonged to the school of Hicesius;<sup>27</sup> ninth a physician of Tarentum,<sup>28</sup> of the empirical school; tenth a poet, the author of pieces of advice; eleventh a sculptor of Phocaea;<sup>29</sup> twelfth a brilliant poet of epigrams;<sup>30</sup> thirteenth a man from Magnesia,<sup>31</sup> who wrote a history of Mithradates; fourteenth the author of studies on astrology.

<sup>25</sup> Heraclides with the surname Lembus (which means: ‘fast boat’) was the son of Sarapion (*Suda* H (Eta) 462, v.2, p.581.25–27 Adler; Diog. Laert. 8.7) and belongs to the 2nd century B.C. He was author of an epitome of Sotion’s work on *Successions of philosophers* (*ibid.*, and 5.79), see above n. 5; Wehrli, *SdA* Suppl. 2, 1978, 8–14. He compiled as well excerpts of works by Hermippus and Satyrus, and of Aristotle’s collection of constitutions, cp. Bollansée, *FGrH* IV A no. 1026 Comment. on T 5 (Fasc. 3, pp. 99–101), cp. *DPhA* 3 H 61. The fragments are collected in *FHG* vol. 3, p. 167–71 and M.R. Dilts, *Heraclidis Lembi Excerpta Politiarum*, Durham (NC) 1971.

<sup>26</sup> He wrote on matters peculiar to Persia, see *FGrH* 696 F 30 — he might be identical with Heraclides no. 3 (above n. 24), cp. *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 42, col. 470.

<sup>27</sup> About Heraclides the physician of the school of Hicesius nothing else is known, see *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 56, col. 496. Hicesius belonged to the first century B.C.: Strabo 12.8.20.

<sup>28</sup> Heraclides of Tarentum, 1st century B.C., was an important physician and commentator on Hippocrates’ works, see A. Guardasole, *Eraclide di Taranto*, Napoli 1997; *DPhA* 3 H 58. See below **16**; *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 54 (col. 493–6).

<sup>29</sup> *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 60, col. 497.

<sup>30</sup> An epigram of a certain Heraclides of Sinope is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca* 7.392, cp. perhaps by the same author no. 281 (and 465?).

<sup>31</sup> Of the history on Mithradates by Heraclides of Magnesia only the title survives (*FGrH* 187 T 1). He wrote probaby in the era of Sulla, see Jacoby *FGrH* 2. Teil (11 B 4), p. 614.



**2** Strabo, *Geographica* 12.3.1 541.1–3 (t.3, p.422 Radt)

<sup>1</sup> W προσεκτήσατο δ' οὗτος (scil. Μιθριδάτης ὁ Εὐπάτωρ)  
καὶ τὴν μέχρι Ἡρακλείας παραλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη,  
τῆς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ πατρίδος.

3 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad 1 v. 4–5*

**3** Suda H 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης (LG t.2, p.581.16–19 Adler)

<sup>2</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης, Εὐφρονος, φιλόσοφος, Ἡρακλείας τῆς  
Πόντου, τὸ δὲ γένος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ Δάμιδος, ἐνὸς τῶν ἡγη-  
σαμένων τῆς εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀποικίας, Πλάτω-  
νος γνώριμος· ἐκδημήσαντος δὲ Πλάτωνος εἰς Σικελίαν  
προεστάναι τῆς σχολῆς κατελείφθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 5

3–4 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad 1 v. 4–5* 4 *De  
Platonis absentia vid. 147*

1 Εὐφρονος *codd.*: Εὐθύφρονος *Diog. Laert.* 5.86 (= **1**), *cf.* Εὐθύφρων  
*ibid.* 1.107 (= **4**)

**4** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 1.107 (BT t.1, p.79.13–  
14 Marcovich)

<sup>18</sup> W Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ Κρήτᾶ φη-  
σιν εἶναι (scil. τὸν Μύσωνα). Ἡτεῖαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι  
Κρήτης.

*Cf. Sosicrates fr. 9 Giannattasio; Hermippus (SdA Suppl. 1) fr. 14; FGrH  
1026 (Part 4, IV A, Fasc. 3) F 19 Bollansée*

1 *Euthyphron vid. FGrH IV A fasc. 1, no. 1007 T 1 (Schepens)* 2 Μύσων  
Ἡτεῖος *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Ἡτις

**5** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 7.166 (BT t.1, p.544.2–  
8 Marcovich)

<sup>12</sup> W Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἡδονὴν διὰ



2 Strabo, *Geography* 12.3.1 541.1–3 (v.3, p.422 Radt)

And he (Mithridates Eupator)<sup>1</sup> acquired also the coastland toward the west as far as Heraclea, the native city of Heraclides, the Platonist.

<sup>1</sup> Mithridates Eupator, *i.e.*, Mithridates VI, 132–63 B.C.

3 *Suda* H (Eta) 461 under “Heraclides” (*LG* v.2, p.581.16–19 Adler)

Heraclides, son of Euphron, was a philosopher from Heraclea on the Black Sea (Pontus). He was descended from Damis, one of those who led the colony of Heraclea from Thebes.<sup>1</sup> He was a pupil of Plato, and when Plato travelled to Sicily,<sup>2</sup> he (Plato) left the leadership of the school to him (Heraclides).

<sup>1</sup> On the Boeotian influence in the settlement of Heraclea on the Pontus, see D. Asheri, “Über die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike,” *Österr. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Philos.-Histor. Kl.*, Bd. 106, 1972 (pp. 9–34), 24–8.

<sup>2</sup> Plato’s third journey to Sicily in 361 B.C.: Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 280; Leisegang *RE* XX, 2, col. 2355.

4 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.107 (*BT* v.1, p.79.13–14 Marcovich)

Euthyphron, the son of Heraclides Ponticus, says that he (Myson<sup>1</sup>) was a Cretan, for Eteia was a city on Crete.

<sup>1</sup> Myson was at times (*e.g.*, by Plato *Prot.* 343A; Hermippus *FGrH* 1026 F 19 Bollansée; Sosicrates F 8 Giannattasio Andria; Diog. Laert. 1.106–8) listed among the Seven Wise Men.

5 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 7.166 (*BT* v.1, p.544.2–8 Marcovich)

Dionysius the defector<sup>1</sup> declared pleasure (to be) the final



περίστασιν ὀφθαλμίας· ἀλγήσας γὰρ ἐπιπόνως ὥκνησεν  
εἰπεῖν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.

ἦν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ' Ἡρακλείας.  
ἤκουσε δέ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρακλείδου 5  
τοῦ πολίτου, ἔπειτα Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον  
δὲ Ζήνωνος.

1 *Dionysius = SVF (t.1) fr. 422, vid. Diog. Laert. 7.37; Heraclid. Pont. 1 (93);*

11 1–4 = *Diocles Carystius: Wilamowitz, Antigonos von Karystos, 1881, p.126* 6 *Alexinus: T 81 Döring*

6 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 3.46 (BT t.1, p.220. 17–221.7 Marcovich)

4 W μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ (scil. Πλάτωνος) Σπεύσιππος Ἀθη-  
ναῖος, Ξενοκράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρί-  
της, Φίλιππος Ὀπούντιος, Ἐστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Δίων Συ-  
ρακόσιος, Ἀμύκλας Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἐραστος καὶ Κορίσκος 5  
Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός, Εὐαίων Λαμψακηνός, Πύ-  
θων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Αἴνιοι, Ἴπποθάλης καὶ Κάλλιππος  
Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικός  
καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

1 = *Speus. T 5 Tarán* 2 *Xenocrat. fr. 3 Isnardi Parente Arist.: Diog. Laert. 5.9; Dion. Hal. Ep. ad Amm. 5; deest in R<sup>3</sup>* 6 *Heraclides ex urbe Aeno, vid. adn. 11, ad Diog. Laert. 5.89 (= 1)* 7 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad 1 v. 4–5*

4 Ἀμύκλας *Marcovich: ἄμυκλος BPF<sup>3</sup>, at vid. 7 (col. vi v.1–2)* 5–6 Πύθων *B<sup>2</sup> Phld. Historia philosophorum, PHerc. 1021 col. VI 15: πείθων PF<sup>3</sup>*



goal (*i.e.*, highest good) (of everything) because of a painful condition of eye-disease. For, having suffered severe pain, he hesitated to declare pain (to be) a thing indifferent.

He was the son of Theophrastus, from the city of Heraclea. And he heard the lectures, as Diocles<sup>2</sup> claims, first of his fellow citizen Heraclides, then of Alexinus<sup>3</sup> and Menedemus<sup>4</sup> and finally of Zeno.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius of Heraclea, the defector (see **11**), lived during the last quarter of the 4th, and first half of the 3rd century B.C. Having fallen ill with a severe infection of the eye, he no longer subscribed to the Stoic tenet that pain belonged to the category of indifferent things; he gave up Stoicism and turned to hedonism. On Dionysius' attempts to write poetry, see Diog. Laert. 7.167.

<sup>2</sup> Diocles of Magnesia was a Hellenistic author of biographies of philosophers and of a compendium of their teachings; *DPhA* 2 D 115.

<sup>3</sup> Alexinus of Elis was a member of the Megarian school of philosophers who lived around 300 B.C. The fragments of his work are collected by K. Döring, *Die Megariker*, 1972, 73–95; *DPhA* A 125.

<sup>4</sup> Menedemus of Pyrrha, 4th century B.C., was a student of Plato, see **7**; **10**; *DPhA* 4 M 117.

<sup>5</sup> Zeno of Citium, 335–263, was the founder of the Stoic school.

## 6 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.46 (BT v.1, p.220.17–221.7 Marcovich)

His (Plato's) pupils were Speusippus of Athens, Xenocrates of Calchedon,<sup>1</sup> Aristotle of Stagira, Philippus of Opus, Hestiaeus of Perinthus,<sup>2</sup> Dion of Syracuse,<sup>3</sup> Amyclas of Heraclea,<sup>4</sup> Erastus and Coriscus of Skepsis,<sup>5</sup> Timolaus of Cyzicus, Euaeon of Lampsacus,<sup>6</sup> Python and Heraclides of Ainos,<sup>7</sup> Hippothales<sup>8</sup> and Callippus of Athens, Demetrius of Amphipolis,<sup>9</sup> Heraclides Ponticus, and several others.

<sup>1</sup> Xenocrates of Calchedon, a student of Plato, was the successor of Speusippus (see **1** n. 3) as head of the Academy from 339–314 B.C., see **10**. For the fragments, see M. Isnardi Parente, *Senocrate-Ermodoro*, Edizione, Traduzione e Commento, Naples 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Hestiaeus of Perinthus, 4th century B.C., was one of the students of Plato who attended, together with Heraclides Ponticus, Plato's lecture *On the Good* and wrote it down, see **9**; *DPhA* 3 H 111.

<sup>3</sup> *DPhA* 2 D 167.

<sup>4</sup> *DPhA* 1 A 148.



7 Philodemus, *Historia philosophorum* PHerc. 1021 col. V, 32–VI, 10 (p. 134–5 Dorandi 1991)

<sup>5</sup> W Ε Πλάτωνος μ[αθη-  
τα]ἰ ἡσ[α]ν . . [ — — —  
... ]. [.] Ο[. . .] Ν[ — — —  
— — — ] ΠΟC 35  
— — — ] ΜΟΙC[.]. .  
— — ] Ν . [ — — —  
— — — ] C . Α . [ . . ] Ω < — — — >  
δόνιος, Ἡρακλείδης Ἀμύντας VI  
Ἡρακλεῶται, Μενέδημος Πυρ-  
ραῖος, Ἔστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Ἀρισ-  
τ[ο]τέλης Στα`γί`ρίτης, Ἥχαιρων Πελληνεύς ', Δίων Συ-  
ρακόσιος ὁ τὴν Διονυσίου 5  
τυραννίδα καθελών, Ἐρ-  
μ[ό]δωρος Συρακόσιος ὁ καὶ πε-  
ρὶ α[ὐ]τοῦ γράψας καὶ τοὺς λό-  
γους εἰς Cικελίαν [μετ]αφέ-  
ρ[ω]ν, Ἑραστος καὶ ` . . ω' . 10

= *Xenocrat. fr. 1 Isnardi Parente*

35 Ἑρμιπ[ο]ς *Lasserre*      35–8 Cπεύσιπ[ο]ς | [Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὸ] μουσ[ε]ῖ-  
ον | [παρὰ Πλάτω]ν[ο]ς διαδεξάμενος, Ξενοκράτης Ἥχαι[κ]η- *Gaiser*

8 Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentarium* 1.28C (BT t.1, p.90.21–4 Diehl)

<sup>5</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι τῶν Χοιρίλου  
τότε εὐδοκιμούντων Πλάτων τὰ Ἀντιμάχου προὔτίμησε  
καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Κολοφῶνα ἐλθόντα



<sup>5</sup> For these two students of Plato, see *DPhA* 2 C 187.

<sup>6</sup> *DPhA* 3 E 61.

<sup>7</sup> See **1** n. 11; *DPhA* 3 H 55.

<sup>8</sup> *DPhA* 3 H 158.

<sup>9</sup> *DphA* 2 D 48.

- 7** Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. V,32–VI,10 (p.134–5 Dorandi 1991)

Plato's pupils were ... (col. VI) of ...]don,<sup>1</sup> Heraclides and Amyntas<sup>2</sup> (both) of Heraclea, Menedemus of Pyrrha,<sup>3</sup> Hestiaeus of Perinthus,<sup>4</sup> Aristotle of Stagira, Chaeron of Pellene, Dion of Syracuse, who brought down the tyranny of Dionysius, Hermodorus of Syracuse, who has also written about him (Plato) and brought his dialogues over to Sicily, Erastus and ... *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Gaiser's supplement of col. V,35–8 reads: "... [Speusip]pus [of Athens, who took over the Mouseion from Plato, Xenocrates of Chalce]don."

<sup>2</sup> Amyntas of Heraclea, cp. Amyntas no. 23, *RE* vol.1 col. 2008; *DPhA* 1 A 152.

<sup>3</sup> For Menedemus of Pyrrha, see **5** n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> For Hestiaeus of Perinthus, see **6** n. 2.

- 8** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*<sup>1</sup> 1.28C (*BT* v.1, p.90.21–4 Diehl)

Heraclides Ponticus, for one, says that Plato preferred the poetry of Antimachus over that of Choerilus, which at that time enjoyed great popularity, and that he persuaded Heraclides himself to go to Colophon and collect the poems of this man



τὰ ποιήματα συλλέξει τοῦ ἀνδρός.

1–4 *Antimach. Colophon.*: *T* 4 Matthews; *Duris FGrH* 76 F 83, cf. *Plut. Lys.* 18.7–9

2 τὰ CN: τὴν P

9      Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria* 3.4 (CAG t.9, p.453.27–30 Diels)

7 W      καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἀρχὰς τιθεὶς ἄπειρον εἶ-  
ναι ἔλεγεν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ λόγοις, οἷς Ἀριστοτέλης  
καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἐστιάιος καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
ἐταῖροι παραγενόμενοι ἀνεγράψαντο τὰ ῥηθέντα αἰνιγμα-  
τωδῶς, ὥς ἐρρήθη. 5

*Comment. ad Arist. Phys. 3.4 202b36*      *Test. Plat. 23b* (p.482 Gaiser); *Por-  
phy. Fragmenta Platonica* 174 F. (A. Smith); cf. *Simpl. In Arist. Phys. libros  
comment. 1.4* (CAG t.9, p.151 Diels) = *Heraclid. Pont. fr. 8 W*, *Speusippo  
Xenocrateque nomine nominatis, sed Heraclide omisso*      2 *Arist. fr. 28*  
(p.41.20–25) R<sup>3</sup>      3 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad 1 v.*  
*4–5; de Heraclide Pontico auctore libri De bono vid. 17* (25)

1 ἄπειρα α      2 οἷς ὁ α      3 ἄλλοι om. E

10      Philodemus, *Historia philosophorum* PHerc. 1021 col. VI, 41–  
VII, 10 (p.136–7 Dorandi 1991)

9 W      οἱ δ[ἐ] γεανίσκοι ψηφ[ο]φορή-  
σαντες ὅστις αὐτῶν ἡγή{σ}-  
σετα[ι] Ξενοκράτη[ν] εἶλοντο  
τὸν [Κα]λχηδόνιον, Ἀριστο-  
τέλους μὲν ἀποδεδημη-  
κότος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Με-  
γεδήμου δὲ τοῦ Πυρραίου  
καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλε-  
ῶτου παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους ἡτ-  
τηθέντων· [ὁ] μὲν οὖν [Ἡ]ρα-  
κλείδης ἀπῆ[ρ]εν ε[ἰς τ]ὸν  
Πόντον, ὁ δὲ [Μενέδημ]ος ἔ-  
vi 41  
vii  
5



(Antimachus).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commenting on Plato, *Timaeus* 21B7–D3.

<sup>2</sup> Antimachus of Colophon was a writer of epic and elegiac poems of the 5th century B.C., cp. V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon. Text and Commentary* (= Mnemosyne Suppl. 155), Leiden 1996.

- 9 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 3.4 (CAG v.9, p.453.27–30 Diels)

And positing the great and the small as first principles he (Plato) said in his lectures *On the good* that it is unlimited. Aristotle and Heraclides and Hestiaeus<sup>1</sup> and others of Plato's pupils were present (at these lectures) and wrote up what he said in an enigmatic fashion, as it was said.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Hestiaeus of Perinthus, see 6 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* I 4 p.151 Diels (= Heraclid. Pont. 8 W) mentions "Speusippus and Xenocrates and the others," but not Heraclides, as "present at Plato's teaching about the Good," who "wrote up and preserved his belief" that "the first principles of all things and of the Ideas themselves are the One and the Unlimited Dyad, which he said is the great and the small," as Aristotle too mentions in his writings about the Good.

- 10 Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. VI,41–VII,10 (p.136–7 Dorandi 1991)

The young men decided by vote who of them would lead<sup>1</sup> and chose Xenocrates<sup>2</sup> of Calchedon. Aristotle was away in Macedon, and Menedemus of Pyrrha<sup>3</sup> and Heraclides of Hecalea lost by a few votes. Heraclides then departed to the Black Sea (Pontus), whereas Menedemus established another Peripatetic and philosophical school.

<sup>1</sup> This account refers to 339 B.C., after the death of Speusippus, see 6 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For Xenocrates of Calchedon, see 6 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For Menedemus of Pyrrha, see 5 n. 4.



τερον περίπατον καὶ [δι]α-  
τριβὴν κατε[σ]κευάσατο. 10

Speus. T 2 Tarán; Xenocrat. fr. 1 Isnardi Parente; T 3 Düring 1957

vii 7 Spengel et Buecheler      8 Gomperz      10 Buecheler

11 Suda Π 449 s.v. Παραστιχίς (LG t.4, p.43.1–4 Adler)

13b W      Παραστιχίς· Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς εἷς τι τῶν ἰδίων  
συγγραμμάτων ἐχρήτο μαρτυρίοις, ὥς Σοφοκλέους. αἰ-  
σθόμενος δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός. τοῦ  
δὲ ἀρνούμενου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος, ἐπέστειλεν ἰδεῖν τὴν πα-  
ραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε παγκάλως. 5

Diog. Laert. 5.92-3 (= 1)      3 Dionysius vid. 5

2 Σοφοκλῆς F      5 ΠΑΓΚΑΛΟΣ Diog. Laert. 5.93 (= 1)

12 Philodemus, Historia philosophorum PHerc. 1021 col. IX,1–  
X,14 (p.139–41 Dorandi 1991)

14b W      . . .] . IC τεχνίκ[ὸς ο]ὔτος ἦν [– – –]  
NAC – τινὲς δ’ ὥς καὶ γραμμα-  
τοδιδάσκαλ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδης {ἦν καὶ Ἡράκλειτος},  
ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτά τῇι δυνά-  
μει – , διότι «τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἡ-  
ρακλε[ω]τῶν διὰ τινὰς αὐχ-  
μοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπομ-  
βρίας ἀκαίρους στερωθεΐσης,  
[σ]υνέβη λι[μὸν π]ερὶ Ἡ[ρά]κλει[αν]  
γενέσθαι π[α]ρὰ πάμπολ]λ’ ἔ-  
τη. ψηφισα[μένων δὲ τῶν] Ἡ-  
ρακλεωτῶ[ν αἰτεῖν, ὥσ]πε[ρ  
φ]ασί, T[.]CQ[. . . . .] Κη-  
φι]σογένους τὴν [Πυθί]αν 10



**11** *Suda* Π (Pi) 449<sup>1</sup> under “Acrostic” (*LG* v.4, p.43.1–4 Adler)

Acrostic: For one of his own writings Heraclides Ponticus used testimony as if it were that of Sophocles. On finding it out, Dionysius revealed to him what had happened. When Heraclides denied it and would not believe him, he told him to look at the acrostic: this comprised (the word) *pankalôs* (“in an all-beautiful manner”).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is an abridged version of the account presented in Diog. Laert. 5.92–3 = **1**; see there n. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The text in the *Suda* differs from that in Diog. Laert. 5.93 (**1.114**) in that it has an adverb *παγκάλως* (“in an all-beautiful manner”) instead of a masculine nominative singular *πάνκαλος* (“All-beautiful”).

**12** Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. IX,1–X,14 (p.139–41 Dorandi 1991)

(He says) that he (Heraclides) was skilled ... — Some (say) that Heraclides taught reading and writing {as did Heraclitus}, which is the same in substance —, that:<sup>1</sup> “when the land of the people of Heraclea became barren because of persisting droughts and untimely heavy rains, a famine occurred in the area of Heraclea which lasted for many years. (11) And after the citizens of Heraclea had decided to ask (the Pythia) as they say ... (13–14) ... Cephisogenes the Pythia ...



	[...]ΑΥΤ[.] πασχον[τ] . ΤΟ	15
	[...]ΟΝ[.....]ΟΜ .ΝΤ[...]	
	.]ΟC [.....] . ΕΙΞΑ Α	
	[.....]ΟΝ[.Π]υθία[...]	
	.....] ΠΕΙCΕΘΑΤΙ[...]	
	.....]Ε[.]Ν . Α [.....]	20
	Δ[.] τήν προς[.]τ[---]	
	φασ[ι] τὰ δ' Α[.....]ΤΗ[.] . [...]	
	Ο . [...]ΩΝΠ[.....]CΕCΤΑΚ[.] . [...]	
	ΑΝ[.] .. [...]'Ηρα]κλείδ[.....]	
	ΤΟΝ [...]. Η[.....] ἑαυτοῦ	25
	Ε[.....] . [ΝΤΑ . [...]	
	.....] ΔΙΟΛ[.....]	
	.....]Ν[.....]	
	.....]ΕΡΕΤΟ . [...]	
	Η[---]	30
	---]ΗC	
	[---]ΔΗC	
	[---]ΝΤ[.]ΥC[...]	
	. [...]. Ν[.....]ΟΝΗ[...]. ΠΟ[. .	
	..]ΡΑΠΟ ... [. τῶ]ν [Ἡρ]ακλε[ι-	35
	ῶ]ν ΠΑΡΘ[.]Η ... Α ... ΩΙ. Η[...]	
	.]Ι . γινομένης δὲ τ[ῆ]ς ἀνα[γ-	
	νώ]σεως, περὶ ΚΑ[...].ΡΑ[. .	
	..]Ο[...].Ο[. .]ΗΛ[.]CΘΗ[...]	
	ΕΤ[---]Ν καὶ [. .	40
	...].ΩΝΑΚΑΤ[---]	
15 W	τῆς κερκίδος σφάλλετα[ι] καὶ	X
	φερόμενος ἕως εἰς μέσον	
	τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὑπὸ βάθρου	
	πληγεῖς συνετρίβη τὴν	
	κεφαλὴν, ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγον	5
	τοῦ διαφθείροντος ἐκπ[ν]εῦ-	
	σαι. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῇ[ν προ-]	
	φῆτιν εἰς τὸν νεῶν εὐκαί[ρως	
	πορ]ευσομένην ἐπ[ι]βῆν[αι	
	δρά]κοντι καὶ δηχθεῖσα[ν]	10
	ἀποθανεῖν». λέ[γει] δ' ἄν-	



(37–38) While (the response) was being read Cephisogenes, having fallen down ...

(X,1) He (Heraclides) lost his footing from his block of seats (in the auditorium) and falling all the way to the middle of the theater, hit a step and shattered his skull, with the result that he breathed his last shortly after the man who tried to corrupt (the Pythia). And it happened also that the prophetess who was just then coming into the temple stepped on a snake, was bitten, and died.” (11) And this fellow (Demochares) says that there has



θρωπος καὶ βελτ[ίο]να μαθη-  
τήν [τ]ε καὶ πολίτην γεγο-  
γ[έ]ναι [. .]ΥΔΕΝ [. .] . OC[. . . .]

ix 1 sq. .. τις τε[χ]νικ[ός] πως? ἦν [κατά τι]να[ς Mekler: “μάν]τις  
τεχνικ[ός ο]ύτος ἦν, [οἶ]μαι” Gaiser      3 D, {Ἡρακλείδης} ἦν καθ’  
Ἡράκλειτον’ Gaiser      9 Gaiser: λ[ιμόν] Buecheler      10 Gaiser: καὶ ἀνὰ  
πόλ]λ’ Mekler      11 sq. Gaiser: ψηφισαμ[ένοις δὲ τοῖς] Ἡ[ρ]ακλεώτ[αις  
Mekler      12–13, 14–15 Gaiser      35 sq. Gaiser: [Ἡρ]ακλεω{ν}[τῶ]ν  
Buecheler et Mekler      37 sq. Mekler      38 Gaiser      x 7 sq. Mekler et  
Gaiser      8 Gaiser: αὐ[θ]ωρ[ί] Mekler      9 Buecheler      10 Spengel      Post  
ἀποθανεῖν *spatium*      11–12 Mekler      14 ο]ὐδέγ[α Buecheler et Mekler:  
[το]ῦδ’ ἐν [φι]λοσ[όφοις Gaiser

13      Suda H 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης (LG t.2, p.581.20–4 Adler)

17 W      Ἡρακλείδης ... οὗτος καὶ δράκοντα ἔθρεψε καὶ  
ἡμέρωσε καὶ εἶχε συνδιαιτώμενον αὐτῷ καὶ συγκαθεύ-  
δοντα· ὅς καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εὐρέθη, τοῦ Ἡρακλεί-  
δου κατακλιθέντος μὲν ὑγιοῦς, οὐχ εὐρεθέντος δέ. καὶ ἄλ-  
λοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπηθανατίσθαι ἐνόμισαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν φρέα- 5  
τι αὐτὸν ἐμβεβληκέναι, ὡς ἂν δόξη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπ-  
ηθανατίσθαι. ἔγραψε πολλά.

Diog. Laert. 5.89 (= 1)

3 μόνον V      5 ἀπηθανατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν V: αὐτὸν ἀπηθανατίσθαι GI      6–  
7 ἀπηθανατίσθαι GIV: ἀπηθανατεῖσθαι TFM

14      Philodemus, De libertate dicendi, PHerc. 1471, fr. 20 (BT  
p.10.20–11.10 Olivieri)

19 W      φωνᾶ[ις μετρ]ίαις  
θεραπ]εύων, διὰ δὲ τῇ[ν προ-  
θυμία]ν αὐτῶν καὶ τήν, [εἴ γ’ ἐ-]  
δυνήθησαν, ὠφελίαν ἡ-  
μῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῇ[ν] μεριζο- 5  
μένην συνγ[ν]ώ[μ]ην ἐν οἷς  
διέπεσον, ὡς ἐν τε τοῖς  
πρὸς Δημόκριτον ἴστα-  
ται διὰ τέλους ὁ Ἐπίκουρος



even been a better pupil and citizen (than Heraclides) ...

<sup>1</sup> διότι “introduce un estratto letterale dalla fonte” (Dorandi 1991, p. 231).

- 13** *Suda* H (Eta) 461 under “Heraclides” (*LG* v.2, p.581.20–4 Adler)

Heraclides ...<sup>1</sup> this man raised a snake and tamed it, and he let it live and sleep with him. This snake was in fact found alone in the bed, whereas Heraclides, who had gone to bed healthy, was not found. And some people believed he had become immortal, while others thought he had thrown himself in a well so that people would think he had become immortal. He wrote many works.

<sup>1</sup> 3 precedes.

- 14** Philodemus, *On Frank Speech*, *PHerc.* 1471, F 20 (*BT* p.10.20–11.10 Olivieri)<sup>1</sup>

Treating (the pupils) with moderate words, and on account of their eagerness and usefulness to us, at least if they were capable, and furthermore the forgiveness imparted for their errors, as Epicurus consistently asserts in his (writings) in reply to Demo-



καὶ πρὸς] Ἡρακλείδην ἐν 10

= *Epicur. fr. 16 Us.*     *De Epicureis Heraclidem impugnantibus vid. 1* (93);  
15; 72

15 Plutarchus, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum 2  
1086E–F (BT t.6, fasc. 2, p.125.7–17 Pohlenz-Westmann)

20 W     καὶ ὁ Θέων ‘εἶπ’ οὐκ ἔλεγες’ εἶπεν ‘ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνων  
(scil. Ἐπικούρου καὶ Μητροδώρου λόγοις) ὁ Κωλώτης  
παραβαλλόμενος εὐφημότατος ἀνδρῶν φαίνεται; τὰ γὰρ  
ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἰσχιστὰ ῥήματα, βωμολοχίας ληκυθισμοὺς  
ἀλαζονείας ἐταιρήσεις ἀνδροφονίας, βαρυστόνους πολυ- 5  
φθόρους βαρυεγκεφάλους συναγαγόντες Ἀριστοτέλους  
καὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πρωταγόρου καὶ Θεο-  
φράστου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἰππαρχίας καὶ τίνος γὰρ  
F     οὐχὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κατεσκέδασαν, ὥστ’, εἰ καὶ τὰλλα  
πάντα σοφῶς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας ταύτας 10  
καὶ κατηγορίας πορρωτάτῳ σοφίας ἂν εἴργεσθαι.

1–9 κατεσκέδασαν = *Epicur. fr. 237 Us.*     5 βαρυστόνους v. *Epicur. fr. 114*  
(p.136.19) *Us.*     6 *Aristoteles deest in R<sup>3</sup>*     7–8 *Theophr. fr. 60 FHS&G*

3 εὐφημότατος: εὐφημότης g     8 Ἰππαρχίας: ἰππάρχου Π

16 M. Terentius Varro, *Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*, fr. 445  
(*Quinquatrus* 6) (t.3, p.824 Krenkel)

21 W     qui Tarentinum tuum ad Heraclidem Ponticon contenderet.

*ex Nonio 4 (t.2, p.397.19–21 Lindsay)*

1 Ponticon *Oehler*: ponti *codd.*: ponto *L<sup>1</sup>*



critus and (in those) in reply to Heraclides in ...

<sup>1</sup> See Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 1.

- 15** Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 2 1086E–F (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.125.7–17 Pohlenz-Westmann)

F And Theon said: “Yet didn’t you say that by comparison to their (Epicurus’ and Metrodorus’<sup>1</sup>) writings Colotes appears to be the most polite of men in his speech? For they collected the ugliest expressions among humans — ‘coarse jestings,’ ‘hollow bellowings,’ ‘impostures,’ ‘prostitutions,’ ‘murder(er)s,’ ‘heavy groanings,’ ‘destroyers of many,’ ‘inflated heads’ — and showered (these) on Aristotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Protagoras, Theophrastus, Heraclides, Hipparchia,<sup>2</sup> indeed, whom of the eminent figures did they spare? The result is that, even if there had been nothing but wisdom in everything else that they uttered, on account of these blasphemies and slanders they would be removed from wisdom by the greatest possible distance.

<sup>1</sup> Metrodorus of Lampsacus, *ca.* 330–278 B.C., Epicurean philosopher, was one of the closest friends of Epicurus, who had the highest opinion of Metrodorus, cp. fr. 146; 241 Usener; *DPhA* 4 M 152.

<sup>2</sup> Hipparchia was a Cynic philosopher of the 3rd century B.C.; *DPhA* 3 H 138.

- 16** M. Terentius Varro, *Fragments of Menippean Satires*, fr.445 (Quinquatrus 6) (v.3, p.824 Krenkel)

who compared your Tarentinian<sup>1</sup> with Heraclides Ponticus.

<sup>1</sup> See **1** n. 28.



De vita et studiis Heraclidis

vid. **49**, quo loco Plutarchus (Camillus 22.2) Heraclidem non multum a temporibus proelii ad Alliam commissi (i.e. anno 388 ante Chr.) afuisse scripsit

Vid. **26A**, quo loco Strabo (8.7.2) destructionem Helices (anno 373 ante Chr.) Heraclide vivo factam esse enarrat

Vid. **1**, quo loco Diogenes Laertius (5.86) Heraclidem Ponticum doctrinam Platonis aemulavisse dicit

Vid. **2**, quo loco Strabo (12.3.1) Heraclidem Platonicum appellat

Vid. **3**, quo loco Suda (H 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης) Heraclidem Platonis familiarem appellat

Vid. **30**, quo loco Cicero (De legibus 3.6.14) Heraclidem Ponticum a Platone profectum esse profitetur

Vid. **72**, quo loco (Cicero, De natura deorum 1.13.34) Velleius Heraclidem Ponticum e Platonis schola provenisse dicit

Vid. **85** et **117A**, quibus locis a Cicerone (Tusculanae disputationes 5.3.8; De divinatione 1.23.46) Heraclides Ponticus auditor Platonis dicitur

Vid. autem **66**, quo loco Proclus (Commentarium in Platonis Timaeum 4.281E) Heraclidem Ponticum Platonis discipulum fuisse negat



For the life and works of Heraclides

see **49**, where Plutarch (*Camillus* 22.2–4) writes that Heraclides did not live much later than the time of the battle at the river Allia (*i.e.*, 388 B.C.).

See **26A**, where Strabo (8.7.2) says that the destruction of Helike (373 B.C.) took place during Heraclides' lifetime.

See **1**, where Diogenes Laertius (5.86) says that Heraclides Ponticus zealously embraced (the teaching of) Plato.

See **2**, where Strabo (12.3.1) calls Heraclides a Platonist.

See **3**, where the *Suda* (H 461 under "Heraclides") calls Heraclides a pupil of Plato.

See **30**, where Cicero (*On Laws* 3.6.14) states that Heraclides Ponticus got his start from Plato.

See **72**, where Velleius says that Heraclides Ponticus came from the school of Plato (Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 1.13.34).

See **85** and **117A**, where Heraclides Ponticus is said to be a pupil of Plato by Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 5.3.8–9; *On Divination* 1.23.46).

See, however, **66**, where Proclus (*Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 4.281E) denies that Heraclides Ponticus was a pupil of Plato.



## II. SCRIPTA

## Libri a Heraclide Conscripti

## 17 Tabula inscriptionum

- 1 Περί δικαιοσύνης γ'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**; ibid. 5.92 = **1** (τοῖς Περί δικαιοσύνης); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.21 521E (BT t.3, p.151.21 Kaibel) = **22** (ἐν τῷ Περί δικαιοσύνης); Ps.-Eratosthenes, Catasterismi 29 Ὀιστοῦ (35.17–8 Olivieri 1897) = **24A** (ἐν τῷ Περί δικαιοσύνης); id. Catasterismorum fragmenta Vaticana codex T = Vaticanus Graecus 1087 (RhM 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm) = **24B** (ἐν τῷ Περί δικαιοσύνης); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.26 523F (BT t.3, p.156.2–3 Kaibel) = **23** (ἐν δευτέρῳ Περί δικαιοσύνης); Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae (242.10–11 Maass) = **24C** (Heraclidis Pontici in quo propter iustitiam)
- 2 Περί σωφροσύνης] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1** (ἐν Περί σωφροσύνης); ibid. 5.88 = **1** (Περί σωφροσύνης)
- 3 Περί εὐσεβείας α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**; ibid. 5.88 = **1** (Περί εὐσεβείας)
- 4 Περί ἀνδρείας α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**
- 5 Περί ἀρετῆς α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (κοινῶς Περί ἀρετῆς α')



## II. WRITINGS

## Books Written by Heraclides

## 17 List of Titles

- 1 *On Justice*, three books] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**; *ibid.* 5.92 = **1** (“his<sup>1</sup> (books) *On Justice*”); Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.21 521E (*BT* v.3, p.151.21 Kaibel) = **22** (“in his<sup>2</sup> (treatise) *On Justice*”); Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars* 29 “Of the Arrow” (35.17–18 Olivieri 1897) = **24A** (“in his (work) *On Justice*”); *id.*, *Conversions into Stars*, Vatican Fragments, codex T = Vatican Greek 1087 (*RhM* 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm) = **24B** (“in his (work) *On Justice*”); Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.26 523F (*BT* v.3, p.156.2–3 Kaibel) = **23** (“in the second book of *On Justice*”); *Remains of the Commentaries on Aratus* (242.10–11 Maass) = **24C** (“of Heraclides Ponticus, in what (he wrote) about justice”)<sup>3</sup>
- 2 *On Self-control*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1** (“one *On Self-control*”); *ibid.* 5.88 = **1** (“*On Self-control*”)
- 3 *On Piety*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**; *ibid.* 5.88 = **1** (“*On Piety*”)
- 4 *On Courage*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**
- 5 *On Virtue*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** (“*On Virtue* in general, one book”)

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the possessive pronoun “his” the Greek text has the definite article (τοῖς Περὶ δικαιοσύνης), but the translation is justified since Diog. Laert. lists the works of Heraclides Ponticus. For the Greek article being used for a possessive pronoun, see R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, Part 2, *Satzlehre*, 3rd ed. 1898 (repr. Darmstadt 1966), vol. 1, p. 593.2.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the possessive pronoun “his” the Greek text has the definite article (ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης), cp. previous note.

<sup>3</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.86 the first twelve titles are listed under the heading “Ethical.”



- 6 Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (ἄλλο Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α')
- 7 Περὶ ἀρχῆς α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; ibid. 1.94 = **28** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς)
- 8a Νόμοι α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (Νόμων<sup>1</sup> α' καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις)
- 8b Περὶ νόμων ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.50 = **31** (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων)
- 9 Περὶ ὀνομάτων α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 10 Συνθῆκαι α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 11 Ἀκούσιος α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 12 Ἐρωτικὸς ἢ (καὶ codd.) Κλεινίας α' ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.78 602B (BT t.3, p.328.2–3 Kaibel) = **37** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν)
- 13 Περὶ ἡδονῆς ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.5 512A (BT t.3, p.130.8 Kaibel) = **39** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. inscriptiones Aristotelis Νόμων  $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  ap. Diog. Laert. Vitae philosophorum 5.26 (= p.8.140 R<sup>3</sup>) et Theophrasti Θεόφραστος ἐν δ' Νόμων: Theophr. FHS&G fr. 635, cf. 653.



- 6 *On Happiness*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** (“another *On Happiness*, one book”)
- 7 *On Governance*,<sup>4</sup> one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; *ibid.* 1.94 = **28** (“in his (work) *On Governance*”)
- 8a *Laws*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** (“one book of *Laws*<sup>5</sup> and of related subjects<sup>6</sup>”)
- 8b *On Laws*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.50 = **31** (“in his (writings) *On Laws*”)
- 9 *On Names*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 10 *Contracts*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 11 *Involuntary*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 12 (*Dialogue*) concerning Love or (and mss.)<sup>7</sup> *Clinias*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.78 602B (BT v.3, p.328.2–3 Kaibel) = **37** (“in his (work) *On Matters of Love*”)
- 13 *On Pleasure*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1** (“the one *On Pleasure*”);<sup>8</sup> Athenaeus, *The Sophists*

<sup>4</sup> Is this work identical with **17** (52) “*On Power*”? See *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 4. The same title Περί ἀρχῆς is found in the list of titles of Aristotle’s works in Diog. Laert. 5.23 (= p.4.41 R<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Marcovich transposes α’ after καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις. However, this second topic is obviously not part of the original title, but a description of the contents of this work by the compiler of the list. Wehrli, on the other hand, in the Greek text of his fr. 22, marked off “and of related subjects” (τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις) with a semicolon, which makes “related subjects” a separate book title. But “related subjects” cannot in itself be a book title.

<sup>6</sup> What these topics might be one could gather from a work by Antisthenes in Diog. Laert. 6.16 “*On Law or what is noble and just*,” Περί νόμου ἢ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου.

<sup>7</sup> One way to understand the καὶ of the manuscripts would be that it introduces the following “*Clinias*” as a separate title, so Marcovich who has to add here the number of books of the “*Clinias*” (he speculates this to be one (<α’>)) since all other titles in the section “Ethical” provide this information. For the form of the title as restored by Gigante’s conjecture, cp. **17** (49) “*On Public Speaking or Protagoras*.”

<sup>8</sup> This work is omitted by Diog. Laert. 5.86–8 in his list of Heraclides’ works, but it is mentioned in his comments on the style of some of them, see



ibid. 12.30 525F (BT t.3, p.160.14 Kaibel) = **41** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.45 533C (BT t.3, p.176.10 Kaibel) = **43** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.52 536F (BT t.3, p.183.14 Kaibel) = **42** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.77 552F (BT t.3, p.219.15 Kaibel) = **44** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.81 554E (BT t.3, p.223.27-224.1 Kaibel) = **40** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς)

- 14 Περὶ νοῦ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 15 Περὶ ψυχῆς] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Plutarchus, Camillus 22.2–4 (BT t.1, fasc. 1, p.221.17–19 Ziegler) = **49** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συντάγματι)
- 16 Περὶ ψυχῆς] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (κατ' ἰδίαν Περὶ ψυχῆς)
- 17 Περὶ φύσεως] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 18 Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων] Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc. 2, p.189.16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων)
- 19 Περὶ εἰδώλων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 20 Πρὸς Δημόκριτον] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 21 Περὶ τῶν <ἐν> οὐρανῷ α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 22 Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Plutarchus, De libidine et aegritudine 5 (BT t.6, fasc. 3, p.43.13–14 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **80** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον); id. Adversus Colotem



- at Dinner* 12.5 512A (*BT* v.3, p.130.8 Kaibel) = **39** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”); *ibid.* 12.30 525F (*BT* v.3, p.160.14 Kaibel) = **41** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”); *ibid.* 12.45 533C (*BT* v.3, p.176.10 Kaibel) = **43** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”); *ibid.* 12.52 536F (*BT* v.3, p.183.14 Kaibel) = **42** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”); *ibid.* 12.77 552F (*BT* v.3, p.219.15 Kaibel) = **44** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”); *ibid.* 12.81 554E (*BT* v.3, p.223.27–224.1 Kaibel) = **40** (“in his (work) *On Pleasure*”)
- 14 *On Mind*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**<sup>9</sup>
- 15 *On Soul*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.2–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p. 221.15–27 Ziegler) = **49** (“in his work *On Soul*”)
- 16 *On Soul*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** (“*On Soul* in a separate treatise”)
- 17 *On Nature*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 18 *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*] Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (“Heraclides’ ... *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*”)
- 19 *On Images*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 20 *In Reply to Democritus*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 21 *On the Things <in> Heaven*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 22 *On the Things in the Underworld*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Plutarch, *Whether Desire and Grief Belong to Mind or Body* 5 (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.43.13–14 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **80** (“the book with the title *On the Things in the Underworld*”); *id.*, *In Reply to Colotes* 14

*RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 4. This fact is an additional indication that the list is not in order, cp. *app. crit.* to **1**.10. Omitted in this list as well are titles **17** (18), (30), (32), (53) to (57).

<sup>9</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.87 titles **17** (14) to (27) are listed under the heading “physical.”



- 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.15–16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου); Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἄιδη)
- 23 Περὶ βίων α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 24a Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 24b Περὶ νόσων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.51 = **82** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων); *ibid.* 8.60 = **87** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων)
- 24c Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum, Prooem. 12 = **84** (ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου); Galenus, De locis affectis 6.5 (t.8, p.415 Kühn) = **89** (ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον ἄπνου); *id.*, De difficultate respirationis 1.8 (t.7, p.773 Kühn) = **90** (ἣν ἄπνου ἐγράψεν)
- 25 Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 26 Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 27 Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 28 Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 29 Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**



- 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.15–16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (“Heraclides’ ... *On the Things in the Underworld*”); Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1** (“*On the Things in the Underworld*”)
- 23 *On Lives*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 24a *Causes relating to Diseases*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 24b *On Diseases*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.51 = **82** (“in his (work) *On Diseases*”); *ibid.* 8.60 = **87** (“in his (work) *On Diseases*”)
- 24c *On the Woman not Breathing*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, Preface 12 = **84** (“in his (treatise) *On the Woman not Breathing*”); Galen, *On affected Areas* 6.5 (v.8, p.415 Kühn) = **89** (“the work is entitled *The Woman not Breathing*”); *id.*, *On difficulty of Breathing* 1.8 (v.7, p.773 Kühn) = **90** (“whom [Heraclides Ponticus] wrote about as *The Woman not Breathing*”)<sup>10</sup>
- 25 *On the Good*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 26 *In Reply to the (doctrines) of Zeno*,<sup>11</sup> one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 27 *In Reply to the (doctrines) of Metron*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 28 *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, books 1, 2]<sup>12</sup> Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**<sup>13</sup>
- 29 *On Archilochus and Homer*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

<sup>10</sup> From its contents, this title probably refers to the same work as **17** (24a) and (24b), see Casaubonus on Diog. Laert. *Prooem* 12; Voss p. 69; Wehrli p. 86; Gottschalk p. 14 who, on the other hand, points out that the title *Causes relating to Diseases* does not fit a dialogue, cp. p. 21 n. 22.

<sup>11</sup> This can only be the Pre-Socratic philosopher Zeno of Elea, 5th century B.C., not the founder of the Stoa, Zeno of Citium, see **5** n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Most probably one book was dedicated to each poet (Wehrli p. 123) — the one on Homer is therefore not identical with **17** (30), where “in his first book *On Homer*” suggests more than one book on Homer.

<sup>13</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.87 titles **17** (28); (29) are listed under the heading “grammatical.”



- 30 Περί Ὁμήρου] Anonymus, In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea Commentarium 3.2 (CAG 20, p.145.27 Heylbut) = **97** (ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περί Ὁμήρου)
- 31 Περί τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α' β' γ'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 32 Συναγωγή τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ] Pseudo-Plutarchus, De Musica 3 1131F (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.3.1 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **109** (ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ)
- 33a Περί μουσικῆς α' β']<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**
- 33b Περί μουσικῆς α' β' γ'] Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 10.82 455C (BT t.2, p. 490.7 Kaibel) = **113** (ἐν τρίτῳ Περί μουσικῆς); ibid. 14.19 624C (BT t.3, p.377.1–2 Kaibel) = **114** (ἐν τρίτῳ Περί μουσικῆς)
- 34 Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαὶ α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Λύσεων Ὀμηρικῶν α' β')
- 35 Θεωρηματικὸν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 36 Περί τῶν τριῶν τραγωδοποιῶν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 37 Χαρακτήρες α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 38 Περί ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 39 Περί στοχασμοῦ α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

<sup>1</sup> *vid. app. crit. ad Diog. Laert. Vitae philosophorum 5.87 (= 1 v.43)*



- 30 *On Homer*] Anonymous, *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* 3.2 (CAG 20, p.145.27 Heylbut) = **97** ("in his first book *On Homer*")
- 31 *On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles*, books 1, 2, 3] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**<sup>14</sup>
- 32 *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*] Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music* 3 1131F (BT v.6, fasc.3, p.3.1 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **109** ("in his *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*")<sup>15</sup>
- 33a *On Music*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
- 33b *On Music*, books 1,2,3] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 10.82 455C (BT v.2, p.490.7 Kaibel) = **113** ("in the third book of *On Music*"); *ibid.* 14.19 624C (BT v.3, p.377.1–2 Kaibel) = **114** ("in the third book *On Music*")<sup>16</sup>
- 34 *Solutions to Homeric (Questions)*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 35 *Theoretic*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 36 *On the Three Tragic Poets*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 37 *Characters*,<sup>17</sup> one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 38 *On Poetics and the Poets*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 39 *On Conjecture*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

<sup>14</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.87–88 titles **17** (31); (33a) and (34) to (48) are listed under the heading "musical."

<sup>15</sup> This must have been a different work from *On Music* (33a), unless it is one section of that work, cp. Gottschalk p. 133 n. 21.

<sup>16</sup> The difference between the number of books attested for **17** (33a) and (33b) respectively could be due to a mistake in transmission (see the conjecture by Meursius in **1** *app. crit.* l. 43), or be explained by the fact that the same material was distributed in different editions over either two or three books or, finally, that to a work *On Music* in two books a different work in one book, e.g. **17** (32), was attached.

<sup>17</sup> Most probably *Characters of style*, cp. the title *On Style or on Characters* in the list of the works of Antisthenes in Diog. Laert. 6.15, see Wehrli p. 119 (note on fr. 165 W).



- 40 Προοπτικά α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Προοπτικῶν α')
- 41 Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 42 Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 43 Λύσεις ἐριστικαὶ α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α' β')
- 44 Ἀξίωμα α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 45 Περὶ εἰδῶν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 46 Λύσεις α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 47 Ὑποθῆκαι α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 48 Πρὸς Διονύσιον α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 49 Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 50 Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**
- 51 Περὶ εὐρημάτων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**



- 40 *Foreseeings*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 41 *Expositions of Heraclitus*, four books] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 42 *Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 43 *Solutions to Eristic (Arguments)*,<sup>18</sup> books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 44 *Axiom*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 45 *On Forms*,<sup>19</sup> one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 46 *Solutions*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 47 *Instructions*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 48 *In Reply to Dionysius*,<sup>20</sup> one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
- 49 *On Public Speaking or Protagoras*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**<sup>21</sup>
- 50 *On the Pythagoreans*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**<sup>22</sup>
- 51 *On Discoveries*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

<sup>18</sup> Cp. the title of a work by Aristotle in Diog. Laert. 5.22 (= p.4.28 R<sup>3</sup>) Λύσεις ἐριστικὰ δ'.

<sup>19</sup> This would probably be a treatise dealing with Plato's theory of forms. Hicks (1925) translates "Of Species," which suggests divisions in the tradition of Plato's later dialogues, e.g. *Politicus* 262B ff. Cp. the title of a work by Aristotle in Diog. Laert. 5.22 (= p.4.31 R<sup>3</sup>) Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν <α'>.

<sup>20</sup> Most probably this is Dionysius, the student of Heraclides, the "defector," since this title is grouped under Heraclides' musical works and the interaction with Dionysius included issues of literature (see **5**; **11**). The phrasing of the title "In Reply to ..." suggests that Heraclides responded to philosophers (cp. **17** (20)), not that he took issue with the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse.

<sup>21</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.88 (**1** l. 60) this is the only work listed under the heading "rhetorical." For the form of the book-title, cp. above n. 7.

<sup>22</sup> In Diog. Laert. 5.88 this and the following title are listed under the heading "historical." The same title Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων α' is found in the list of titles of Aristotle's works in Diog. Laert. 5.25 (= p.7.101 R<sup>3</sup>).



- 52 Περί ἐξουσίας] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (πέπλακεν ... τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὥς ... τὸ Περί ἐξουσίας)
- 53 Περί νήσων] Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De prosodia catholica (GG pars 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.5) = **133** (ἐν τῷ Περί νήσων); Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos (Σ 48) Στρύμη (p.242 Keaney) = **134** (ἐν τῷ Περί νήσων)
- 54a Περί χρηστηρίων] Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21 108.3 (t.1, p.69.25 Stählin-Früchtel) = **119** (ἐν τῷ Περί χρηστηρίων); Scholion in Hesiodi Scutum 70 (p.26–7 Ranke) = **122A** (ἐν τῷ Περί χρηστηρίων); Etymologicon Magnum s.v. Παγασαῖος (646.39–41 Gaisford) cum additamento codicis Laurentiani 304 B St. Marci (E. Miller, Mélanges de Littérature Grecque, Paris 1868, p.233) = **122B** (ἐν τῷ Περί χρηστηρίων)
- 54b Περί χρησμῶν] Scholion in Pindari Olympionicas 6.119 (t.1, p.180.6 Drachmann) = **121** (ἐν τῷ Περί χρησμῶν); Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De declinatione nominum (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. post. p.690.8) = **123** (ἐν τοῖς Περί χρησμῶν)
- 55 Κτίσεις ἱερῶν] Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrepticus 2.39.8 (p.62.36 Marcovich) = **141** (ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν)
- 56 Ζωροάστρης] Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.15 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας ... Ἡρακλείδου δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην)
- 57a Ἄβαρις] Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 1 14E (BT t.1, p.28.9–10 Paton-Wegehaupt-Gärtner) = **130** (καὶ τὸν Ἄβαριν τὸν Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τὸν Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀρίστωνος διερχόμενοι)
- 57b Τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερόμενα] Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.178.27–8 Bek-



- 52 *On Power*<sup>23</sup>] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the philosophers* 5.88 = **1** (“he has composed ... others in a tragic manner, such as ... the one *On Power*”)
- 53 *On Islands*] Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Universal Prosody* (GG part 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.5) = **133** (“in his (treatise) *On Islands*”); Harpocration, *Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators* (Σ 48) under “Stryma” (p.242 Keaney) = **134** (“in the (treatise) *On Islands*”)
- 54a *On Oracles*] Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 108.3 (v.1, p.69.25 Stählin-Früchtel) = **119** (“in his (treatise) *On Oracles*”); Scholion on Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 70 (p.26–27 Ranke) = **122A** (“in his (treatise) *On Oracles*”); *Great Etymological Lexicon* under “Pagasaeon” (646.39–41 Gaisford) with a supplement from the Laurentian codex 304 B of St. Marcus (E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868, p.233) = **122B** (“in his (treatise) *On Oracles*”)
- 54b *On Oracles*] Scholion on Pindar, *Olympian* 6.119 (v.1, p.180.6 Drachmann) = **121** (“in his treatise *On Oracles*”); Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On declension of nouns* (GG part 3, v.2, fasc. post. p.690.8) = **123** (“in his (treatise) *On Oracles*”)
- 55 *Foundations of Sanctuaries*] Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 2.39.8 (p.62.36 Marcovich) = **141** (“in *Foundations of Sanctuaries*”)
- 56 *Zoroaster*] Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (BT v.6, fasc.2, p.189.15 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (“that ... you could not pick up ... and Heraclides’ *Zoroaster*”)
- 57a *Abaris*] Plutarch, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 1 14E (BT v.1, p.28.9–10 Paton-Wegehaupt-Gärtner) = **130**<sup>24</sup> (“reading through ... Heraclides’ *Abaris* and Ariston’s *Lyco*”)
- 57b *What is attributed to Abaris*] *Seguerian Lexica, On Composition* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1, p.178.27–8 Bekker) = **131**

<sup>23</sup> See above n. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Since the *Abaris* is not mentioned in the list of Heraclides’ works in Diog. Laert., attempts have been made to consider this as an alternative title for works we know of, either *On Justice* (**17** (1)) or *On the Things in the Underworld* (**17** (22)); see however Gottschalk pp. 121–3.



ker) = **131** (ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων); Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.145. 22–23 Bekker) = **132** (τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων)

INCERTA

58 Suda Θ 282 s.v. Thespis (LG t.2, p.711.11–13 Adler) = **150**

Tragoediae

58a Ἀθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας

58b Ἱερεῖς

58c Ἠίθεοι

58d Πενθεύς; Pollux, Onomasticon 7.45 (t.2, p.64.14–15 Bethe) = **151** (Θέσπις ἐν τῷ Πένθει)

**18** Proclus, Commentarium in Platonis Parmenidem, liber 1 (OCT p.46–7 659.14–17 Steel)

<sup>23</sup> W τὸ δὲ παντελῶς ἀλλότρια τὰ προοίμια τῶν ἐπομένων εἶναι, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ καὶ Θεοφράστου διαλόγων, πᾶσαν ἀνιᾶ κρίσεως μετέχουσιν ἀκοήν.

*Arist. fr. I (p.23.3-7) R<sup>3</sup>; Theophr. fr. 44 FHS&G*

**19A** Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 13.19.3–4 (t.5, 326, p.210 3.4–4.2 Shackleton Bailey)

<sup>24a</sup> W ... absolvi nescio quam bene, sed ita accurate ut nihil posset supra, Academicam omnem quaestionem libris quattuor. in eis quae erant contra ἀκαταληψίαν praeclare collecta ab Antiocho Varroni dedi. ad ea ipse respondeo; tu es tertius in



(“From the second book of *What is attributed to Abaris*”);  
*Seguerian Lexica, On Composition* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1,  
p.145.22–23 Bekker) = **132** (“From *What is attributed to*  
*Abaris*”)

UNCERTAIN

58 *Suda* Θ (Theta) 282, under “Thespis” (v.2, p.711.11–13  
Adler) = **150**

*Tragedies*

58a *The Funerary Games of Pelias or Phorbas*

58b *Priests*

58c *Young Men*

58d *Pentheus*; Pollux, *Nomenclature* 7.45 (v.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe)  
= **151** (“Thespis ... in his *Pentheus*”)

**18** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Parmenides*, Book 1 (*OCT*  
p.46–7 659.14–17 Steel)

The fact that the introductions are completely different from  
what follows, as in the dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus and  
Theophrastus, distresses every ear that partakes of good judg-  
ment.

**19A** Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 13.19.3–4 (v.5, 326, p.210 3.4–4.2  
Shackleton Bailey)

... I have finished the whole question of Academic philosophy  
in four books,<sup>1</sup> I am not certain how well, but as carefully as  
it could be done within that scope. I have assigned to Varro<sup>2</sup>  
the arguments that have been so well assembled by Antiochus<sup>3</sup>  
against “the denial of certainty.”<sup>4</sup> To these I respond myself, and



74     **Heraclides of Pontus**

sermone nostro. si Cottam et Varronem fecissem inter se 5  
disputantis, ut a te proximis litteris admoneor, meum ἡωφὸν  
4 πρόσωπον esset. hoc in antiquis personis suaviter fit, ut et  
Heraclides in multis et nos in sex de re publica libris fe-  
cimus.

1 possit *Kayser*     5 si ... fecissem *PΔ*: set ... fecisse *R*     6 ut *R*: *om.* *Δ*  
7 esset *ς*: esse *RΔ*     ut et *MBM*: ut *ERds*     8 in VI *Schütz*: in *ER*: VI *Mm*  
(videre .P. *M*)     sex *b*: *om.* *ds*

**19B** Cicero, Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem 3.5.1 (25, p.92.11–16  
Shackleton Bailey)

24b W     ii libri cum in Tusculo mihi legerentur audiente Sal-  
lustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate il-  
lis de rebus dici posse si ipse loquerer de re publica,  
praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus sed consula-  
ris et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem. 5



you are the third in our conversation. If I had presented Cotta<sup>5</sup> and Varro arguing between themselves, as you advise me in  
4 your most recent letter, I would have been a mute character. This works nicely in the case of ancient persons, as both Heraclides has done in many of his dialogues and I in my six books *About the Republic*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cicero's *Academica* in four books, written in 45 B.C. The remark here refers to the revised edition in which the original two books were expanded to four: Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 13.13.1.

<sup>2</sup> M. Terentius Varro, 116–28 B.C., Roman scholar with a wide range of interests. Of his work only major parts of *On Agriculture* and *On the Latin Language* survive.

<sup>3</sup> Antiochus of Ascalon, who lived at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C., abandoned the scepticism of the Middle and New Academy in order to return to the teaching of the Old Academy. He became a close friend of Cicero, cp. *DPhA* 1 A 200.

<sup>4</sup> The impossibility of direct apprehension (ἀκαταληψία), that is the sceptic position which rejects the Stoic doctrine of impressions that carry certainty of their truth.

<sup>5</sup> C. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 75 B.C. He was interlocutor in Cicero's *De oratore* and *De natura deorum*, cp. *DPhA* 2 C 193.

<sup>6</sup> *De Republica* in six books; at a previous stage Cicero had planned nine books: *Letters to Quintus* 3.5.1.

**19B** Cicero, *Letter to Brother Quintus* 3.5.1 (25, p.92.11–16 Shackleton Bailey)

When these books (*De Republica*) were read out to me<sup>1</sup> in Tusculum in the presence of Sallustius,<sup>2</sup> he advised me that these issues could be discussed with much more authority if I myself were to speak about the republic, especially since I am not a Heraclides Ponticus, but a former consul, and one who has been involved in the greatest affairs in the state.

<sup>1</sup> Dionysios (see *RE* 5.1, col. 914: Dionysios 76) was one of the slaves of Cicero who read texts to him (and stole some of his manuscripts).

<sup>2</sup> Cn. Sallustius was a close friend of Cicero. He is not to be confused with the historian C. Sallustius Crispus.



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- 20** Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 8, fr. XV (OCT t.1, p.276.18–19 Marshall)

26 W historia ex libris Heraclidae Pontici iucunda memoratu et miranda.

*Prisc. 6.61 (GLK t.2, p.246.6–8 Hertz): “Agellius noctium Atticarum VIII” (VIII H et Darmstadini<sup>a</sup> et<sup>c</sup>: VIII rel.)*

- 21A** Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 15.27.2 (t.6, 406, p.132.6–7 Shackleton Bailey)

27a W librum tibi celeriter mittam ‘De gloria’ .excudam aliquid ‘Hρακλείδειον quod lateat in thesauris tuis.

1 mittam *ORMc*: -am tibi *Eδ* 1–2 ‘Hρακλείδειον **C**: APHKΛEIAEOIN vel sim. *RMm*

- 21B** Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 16.2.6 (t.6, 412, p.164.5–6 Shackleton Bailey)

27c W ‘Hρακλείδειον, si Brundisium salvi, adoriemur. ‘De gloria’ misi tibi.

1 ‘Hρακλείδειον **ς**: -EIAION vel sim. *ERΔ*

- 21C** Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 15.4.3 (t.6, 381, p.82.6–8 Shackleton Bailey)

27b W ‘at’ inquis ‘Hρακλείδειον aliquod.’ non recuso id quidem, sed et componendum argumentum est et scribendi expectandum tempus maturius.

1 ‘Hρακλείδειον **ς**: -ΔION Δ et sim. *R*

- 21D** Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 15.13.3 (t.6, 416, p.180.1–4 Shackleton Bailey)

27d W <non> improbo ‘Hρακλείδειον, praesertim cum tu tanto-



- 20** A. Gellius, *Attic Nights* 8, fr. XV (*OCT* v.1, p.276.18–19 Marshall)

A story from the books of Heraclides Ponticus, agreeable to tell and marvelous.

- 21A** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.27.2 (v.6, 406, p.132.6–7 Shackleton Bailey)

I shall very soon send you a book *On Glory*.<sup>1</sup> I shall hammer out something Heraclidean which may lie hidden in your treasure chamber.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero sent his work (*De gloria*) to Atticus on July 11, 44 B.C. (*Letter to Atticus* 16.2.6). It is lost.

- 21B** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.2.6 (v.6, 412, p.164.5–6 Shackleton Bailey)

After I have made it safely to Brundisium I shall set to work on my Heraclidean piece. I have sent you *On Glory*.

- 21C** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.4.3 (v.6, 381, p.82.6–8 Shackleton Bailey)

“Now,” you say, “I should write something Heraclidean.” I do not object to that, but I both need to compose the argument and I need to wait for a more opportune time for writing.

- 21D** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.13.3 (v.6, 416, p.180.1–4 Shackleton Bailey)

Now I approve of the Heraclidean piece, especially since you



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pere delectere; sed quale velis velim scire. quod ad te antea  
atque adeo prius scripsi (sic enim mavis), ad scribendum,  
<si licet> tibi vere dicere, fecisti me acriorem.

1 non improbo *Shackleton Bailey*: improbo *RΔZ<sup>(t)</sup>*: nec improbo *b<sup>2</sup>*: iam  
probo *Manutius* Ἡρακλείδειον *ς*: -είδιον *δ*: ΕΙΑΕΡΟΝΙ *RM* 2  
delectere *δ*: -tare *RM* 4 si licet *add. Shackleton Bailey, alii alia*

### 21E Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 16.11.3 (t.6, 420, p.190.1–3 Shackleton Bailey)

<sup>27e</sup> W Πεπλογραφίαν Varronis tibi probari non moleste fero; a  
quo adhuc Ἡρακλείδειον illud non abstuli. quod me hortaris  
ad scribendum, amice tu quidem, sed me scito agere nihil aliud.

2 -IAEION *vel sim. RM*: -ίδιον *δ*

### 21F Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 16.12 (t.6, 421, p.196.10–11 Shackleton Bailey)

<sup>27f</sup> W de Ἡρακλειδείῳ Varronis negotia salsa. me quidem nihil  
umquam sic delectavit.

1 salsa me *bs*: salsam *e- M*: salsam me *m*: salsam *d*: salsam et *R*: salsa mihi  
et *P*

## De Virtutibus, De Vita Beata (22–5)

De iustitia, libri tres] **17** (1)  
De moderatione, liber unus] **17** (2)  
De fortitudine, liber unus] **17** (4)  
De virtute, liber unus] **17** (5)  
De vita beata, liber unus] **17** (6)  
Involuntarius, liber unus] **17** (11)



are so delighted by it, but I would like to know what sort of thing you want. As I wrote to you before, and, moreover, earlier (for you would prefer this word), you have made me keener to write, if I may tell you the truth.

- 21E** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.11.3 (v.6, 420, p.190.1–3 Shackleton Bailey)

I do not find it troublesome that you approve of Varro's "Literary Embroideries."<sup>1</sup> I still have not gotten that Heraclidean work out of him. As far as you are urging me to write, that is kind of you, but know that I am doing nothing else.

<sup>1</sup> Varro's "Literary Embroideries," Πεπλογραφία, i.e., description of garments, probably refers to Varro's work *Imagines* (*Portraits*), see H. Dahmann, *RE* Suppl. VI 1227.

- 21F** Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.12 (v.6, 421, p.196.10–11 Shackleton Bailey)

Witty considerations concerning Varro's Heraclidean work. Indeed nothing has ever amused me so much.

### Virtues, Happiness (22–5)

*On Justice*, three books] **17** (1)  
*On Self-control*, one book] **17** (2)  
*On Courage*, one book] **17** (4)  
*On Virtue*, one book] **17** (5)  
*On Happiness*, one book] **17** (6)<sup>1</sup>  
*Involuntary*, one book] **17** (11)

<sup>1</sup> For an additional fragment which could belong to this work, see **81** n. 1.



De Epicureo philosopho quodam Heraclidem de iustitia impug-  
nante vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.92 (= 1)  
De comico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De moderatione  
usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= 1)

- 22** Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.21 521E–522A (BT t.3, p.151.  
21–152.5 Kaibel)

<sup>49</sup> W     Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης φησίν·  
F     ‘Συβαρίται τὴν Τήλυος τυραννίδα καταλύσαντες τοὺς μετα-  
σχόντας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιροῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἐπὶ  
τῶν βωμῶν ἅπαντας *lacuna* καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις τούτοις ἀπ-  
εστράφη μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἡρας ἄγαλμα, τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος ἀνήκε πη- 5  
γὴν αἵματος, ὥστε τὸν σύνεγγυς ἅπαντα τόπον κατεχάλκω-  
σαν θυρίσι, βουλόμενοι στήσαι τὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀναφοράν.  
522A διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες οἱ  
καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῶν πάνυ ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρῶσαι ἐθελή-  
σαντες· καθ’ ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων 10  
ὑπερβολῇ ὥς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς.’

*Cf. Phylarch. FGrH 81 F 45; Ael. Var. hist. 3.43. Aliter describit Sybaris  
destructionem Her. 5.44 8 sqq. De Sybaritarum studio Olympici certaminis  
diminuendi vid. Ath. 12.22 522D; Ps.-Scymnus GGM (t.1, p.210–1) 350–6;  
Dionysius Periegeta GGM (t.2, p.125) 372–4. Timaeus FGrH 566 F 45 ean-  
dem memoriam eventus, at de Crotoniatis tradit*

*4 lacunam notavit Kaibel (qui ἅπαντας non satis idoneam emendationem pro  
ἅπαντες codd. arbitratur)*

- 23** Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.26 523F–524B (BT t.3, p.156.2–  
19 Kaibel)

<sup>50</sup> W     Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύ-  
νης φησίν· ‘ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυχίαις διὰ  
524A τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας. οἱ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγα-  
πῶντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἀνείλον τοὺς ἐχθρούς. στασιαζόντων γὰρ  
τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς ἐκείνοι 5  
Γέργιθας ἐκάλουν, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος καὶ τοὺς



For Epicurean criticism of Heraclides' views on justice, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.92 (= 1).

Concerning the comic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Self-control*, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= 1).

- 22** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.21 521E–522A (BT v.3, p.151.21–152.5 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus says in his (treatise) *On Justice*: “The  
F Sybarites, having overthrown the tyranny of Telys,<sup>1</sup> were killing  
those who had taken part in his affairs and slaughtering them  
all on the altars ... [*lacuna*] ... and at this bloodshed the statue  
of Hera turned its face away and the ground shot forth a spurt  
of blood, as a consequence of which they blocked the whole  
area nearby with bronze doors, wishing to stop the spurting  
522A forth of the blood. Because of this they were driven from house  
and home and were destroyed, all of them who had wished to  
diminish the contest even of the great Olympian games: for they  
watched for the time when the games were held, and by offer-  
ing extravagant prizes they tried to lure the athletes to their own  
city.”

<sup>1</sup> Telys was tyrant in Sybaris ca. 510 B.C. (Hdt. 5.44).

- 23** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.26 523F–524B (BT v.3, p.156.2–19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in the second book of *On Justice* says:  
“The city of the Milesians has fallen into misfortunes on account  
of luxurious living and animosities among citizens: they, not  
contenting themselves with decent behavior, uprooted their ene-  
524A mies in total destruction. For when there was civil strife between  
the wealthy and the commoners, whom they called Gergithai,



πλουσίους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν τὰ τέκνα τῶν φυγόν-  
των εἰς ἁλωνίας βούς εἰσαγαγόντες συνηλοίησαν καὶ παρα-  
νομωτάτῳ θανάτῳ διέφθειραν. τοιγάρτοι πάλιν οἱ πλούσιοι  
κρατήσαντες ἅπαντας ὧν κύριοι κατέστησαν μετὰ τῶν τέκ- 10  
νων κατεπίπτωσαν. ὧν καιομένων φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γε-  
νέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν ἱερὰν αὐτομάτην ἀναφθῆναι. διό-  
B περ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπήλυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαν-  
τείου καὶ ἐπερωτώντων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελεύνονται εἶπεν·  
καί μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμίστων 15  
πισσῆρων τε μόρος καὶ δένδρεον αἰὲν ἀθαλλές·

*Praecedat Arist. fr. 557 R<sup>3</sup>. Cf. Heraclid. Pont. 41* 15–16 = *Parke-Wormell*  
*no. 130*

3 πολιτικὰς *codd.* : πολιτικῆς *Ath. Epit. t.2,2 p.81 Peppink* 7 συναγαγόντες  
*A Kaibel*: συναγαγὼν *E* 13 αὐτοὺς τοῦ *Musurus*: αὐ | τοῦ *A*:  
ἀπηλύνοντο τοῦ (*mutata structura*, ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ *om.*) *E* 16 πισσῆρων  
*codd.* : πισσηρός τε *E*

**24A** Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi* 29 Ὀιστοῦ (BT p.35.7–19 Oli-  
vieri 1897)

51a W τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἐστὶ τοξικόν, ὃ φασιν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος,  
ὧ̃ τε δὴ τοὺς Κύκλωπας <τοὺς> τῷ Διὶ κεραυνὸν ἐργασαμέ-  
νους ἀπέκτεινε δι' Ἀσκληπιόν· ἔκρυψε δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Ὑπερβο-  
ρείοις, οὗ καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτέρινος. λέγεται δὲ πρότερον ἀπε-  
νηνέχθαι ὅτε τοῦ φόνου αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἐπαύσα- 5  
το τῆς παρὰ Ἀδμήτῳ λατρείας, περὶ ἧς λέγει Εὐριπίδης ἐν  
τῇ Ἀλκήστιδι. δοκεῖ δὲ τότε ἀνακομισθῆναι ὁ οἰστὸς μετὰ  
τῆς καρποφόρου Δήμητρος διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος· ἦν δὲ ὑπερμεγέ-  
θης, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιο-  
σύνης. ὅθεν εἰς τὰ ἄστρα τέθεικε τὸ βέλος ὁ Ἀπόλλων 10  
εἰς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μάχης καταστερίσας.

*Cf. Hyg. De astronom. 2.15 (p.51.677–83) Viré* 2 *De Cyclopibus Iovis ful-*  
*men conficientibus vid. Hes. Theog. 139–41* 6–7 *Eur. Alc. 1–6*

2 ὧ̃ τε *Heyne*: ὧ̃ *Robert*: ὅτε *C* τοὺς *suppl. Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419*  
τὸν *ante* κεραυνὸν *suppl. Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419* 4–5 λέγεται δὲ  
πρότερον ἀπενηνέχθαι *expunxit Voss, probante Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419*  
πρότερον : ὕστερον *Heyne*



at first the people had the upper hand and expelled the wealthy citizens and collected the children of the exiles onto the threshing floors, where they brought in bulls and had the children trampled to pieces, killing them with a hideously lawless death. Accordingly, when the wealthy regained control, they took everyone whom they got hold of, with their children, and tarred them (and set them on fire). While these were burning, as the story goes, many other portents occurred and in particular a sacred olive tree burst into flame spontaneously. For this reason the god for a long period of time drove them away from his oracle, and when they asked why they were being driven away, he said:

I too care about the murder of the Gergithai, unsuited for war, and about the doom of the tarred ones, and the tree forever without bloom.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the civil war in Miletus, cp. Hdt. 5.28; Plutarch, *The Greek Questions* 32 298C–D.

**24A** Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars* 29 “Of the Arrow” (*BT* p.35.7–19 Olivieri 1897)

This (the arrow) is the missile propelled by the bow, which they say belongs to Apollo. With it he killed the Cyclopes, who had made the thunderbolt for Zeus, because of Asclepius.<sup>1</sup> And he hid it in the land of the Hyporboreans,<sup>2</sup> where also the feathered temple (is located). They say that it was brought back earlier,<sup>3</sup> when Zeus had cleared him of the murder and he had ended his servitude with Admetus, which Euripides mentions in his *Alcestis*. The arrow seems to have been brought back at that time, with Demeter bearer of fruit, through mid-air. And it was extremely large, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Justice*, and for this reason Apollo has placed this missile among the stars and made it into a constellation in commemoration of his own battle.

<sup>1</sup> Asclepius was the son of Apollo, the god of healing; when he restored mortals to life, Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt made by the Cyclopes. In his anger Apollo killed the Cyclopes. Zeus punished Apollo by making him serve Admetus, king of Pherae, whose wife Alcestis offers to die for him. This is the subject of the play by Euripides, mentioned here.

<sup>2</sup> The Hyperboreans were inhabitants of an imaginary land in the North.

<sup>3</sup> Heyne’s conjecture ὕστερον would give “later.”



**24B** Eratosthenes, *Catasterismorum Fragmenta Vaticana*, codex T = Vaticanus Graecus 1087 (RhM 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm)

51c W οὗτος (sc. ὁ οἰστός) Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὃν ἔκρουψεν Ὑπερ-  
βορίοις, οὗ καὶ ναὸς γίνεται ὁ πτέρινος, ὅτε τοὺς Κύκλωπας  
ἀνείλε \*\*\* τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν ποιήσαντας· ὅτε ἐπαύσατό τε  
καὶ οἰστός ἀνεκομίσθη μετὰ τῆς καρποφόρου Δήμητρος. ἦν  
δὲ ὑπερμεγέθης. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ δι- 5  
καιοσύνης καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου Ἄβαρὶν τινα φερόμενον ἐλθεῖν.  
ὅθεν ὑπόμνημα τῆς αὐτοῦ μάχης Ἀπόλλων κατηστέρισεν  
αὐτόν.

6 *De Abaride* vid. *Hdt.* 4.36; *Pind. fr.* 270 *Snell-Maehler*; *Porphyr. Vit. Pyth.* 29; *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 91; 136; *Heraclid. Pont.* **17** (57a), (57b); **55**; **130–2**; **149A**; **B**

1 *fort. ἐν ante Ὑπερβορίοις Schiitumpf* 3 \*\*\* *spatium quindecim litterarum* 6 Ἄβαρὶν τινα φερόμενον *Rehm*: κέβαρὶν τινὰ φερομένην *cod.*

**24C** *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae*, IV Anonymus II, Aratus Latinus cum scholiis (241.15–242.10 Maass)

51b W hoc es iaculum, quod per arcum mittitur, quem dicunt Apollinis, quando interfecit omnes cycnos, qui Iovis fulmen furaverant. quos interemit per Asclepium. quem et abdidit ad aquilonem. et quando cessavit. tunc et iaculum adsumptum est cum fructiferam Cererem. erat autem super 5  
magnitudine Heraclidis Pontici in quo propter iustitiam.

*inter annos A.D. 630–730 scriptum, vid. Maass, l.l. p. XLII*

2 cicinos *B*: cycnos *P* (= Κύκλωπας) 3 interimit *B* has dipium *B*: asclipium *P* 4 abdidit: abscondit *P* cessavit: cessabit *B* 5 Cererem: ceteram *B* 6 Heraclidis *edd.*: Herculis *codd.* punctici *P* iusticiam *B*

**25** Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 2.21 130.3 (t.1, p.184.8–10 Stählin-Früchtel)

44 W Πυθαγόραν δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ τὴν ἐπι-



- 24B** Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars*, Vatican Fragments, codex T = Vatican Greek 1087 (*RhM* 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm)

This (arrow) is Apollo's, which he hid with the Hyperboreans, where also the feathered temple is located, when he killed the Cyclopes — [*space of fifteen letters*] —, the ones who had made the thunderbolt: when he stopped and the arrow was brought back with Demeter bearer of fruit. It was extremely large. Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Justice* (says) that a certain Abaris<sup>1</sup> came, being borne along on it. Wherefore Apollo made this a constellation in memory of his battle.

<sup>1</sup> Abaris was a legendary figure, a priest of Apollo, from the land of the Hyperboreans; he carried with him the golden arrow, the symbol of Apollo, cp. *DPhA* 1 A 3.

- 24C** Remains of the *Commentaries on Aratus*, IV Anonymous II, *Latin Aratus with scholia* (241.15–242.10 Maass)

This is the arrow that is shot with the bow, which they say belonged to Apollo when he killed all the swans who had stolen the thunderbolt of Jupiter. He killed them on account of Asclepius. And he hid it in the north. And when he stopped. Then also the arrow was brought back with fruit-bearing Ceres. But it was extremely large<sup>1</sup> (as is the report) of Heraclides Ponticus, in what (he wrote) about justice.

<sup>1</sup> *erat autem super magnitudine* appears to be an attempt to render the Greek ἦν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθης “it was extremely large” of **24B**.4–5; cp. **24A**.8–9. Or does it mean: “But there was regarding (its) largeness (a statement) of Heraclides Ponticus, in what ...”?

- 25** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 2.21 130.3 (v.1, p.184.8–10 Stählin-Früchtel)

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Pythagoras<sup>1</sup> has handed down



στήμην τῆς τελειότητος τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐδαιμονί-  
αν εἶναι παραδεδωκέναι.

*Cf. Theodoret. Graec. affect. curatio 11.8*

2 τῆς τελειότητος *codd.*: τὴν τελειότητα *Hoyer*      ἀριθμῶν *Potter*:  
ἀρετῶν *codd.*

De religione (26–7)

De pietate, liber unus] **17** (3)  
De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De pietate usitato vid.  
Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)

**26A** Strabo, Geographica 8.7.2 384.29–30, 33–385.9 (t.2, p.528–30  
Radt)

46a W      κατεκλύσθη δ' ἡ Ἑλίκη δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρι-  
κῶν ... Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησι καθ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος  
νύκτωρ δώδεκα σταδίου διεχούσης τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ θαλάτ-  
385 τῆς καὶ τούτου τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς σὺν τῇ πόλει καλυφθέν-  
τος, δισχιλίους δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πεμφθέντας ἀνελέσθαι 5  
μὲν τοὺς νεκροὺς μὴ δύνασθαι, τοῖς δ' ὁμόροις νεῖμαι τὴν  
χώραν. συμβῆναι δὲ τὸ πάθος κατὰ μῆνιν Ποσειδῶνος· τοὺς  
γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλίκης ἐκπεσόντας Ἴωνας αἰτεῖν πέμψαντας πα-  
ρὰ τῶν Ἑλικέων μάλιστα μὲν τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ  
δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν. οὐ δόντων δὲ πέμψαι 10  
πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν δὲ ψηφισαμένων οὐδ' ὥς  
ὑπακοῦσαι, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς χειμῶνι συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος, τοὺς  
δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ὕστερον δοῦναι τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν τοῖς Ἴωσιν.

*De destructione Helices vid. Ephor. FGrH 70 F 212; Paus. 7.24.6–12; Plin.  
Nat. hist. 2.92.206; Ael. De nat. anim. 11.19*

2 καθ' ἐαυτὸν *Pletho*: κατ' αὐτὸν *a* (*manus duae a quibus suppleta sunt  
quae in A deperierunt*)



the tradition that happiness is the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers of the soul.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pythagoras of Samos, a philosopher, lived *ca.* 570–480 B.C.; he emigrated to Croton (Southern Italy), where he established a religious society, devoted to the cult of Apollo; he died in Metapontium.

<sup>2</sup> A different translation is possible as well: “happiness of the soul is the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers”, cp. Gottschalk pp. 113–4; see, however, Wehrli, p. 71 *ad loc.*

### On Religious Observance (26–7)

*On Piety*, one book] 17 (3)

Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides’ *On Piety*, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= 1).

**26A** Strabo, *Geography* 8.7.2 384.29–30, 33–385.9 (v.2, p.528–30 Radt)

Helike<sup>1</sup> was flooded two years before the battle of Leuctra,<sup>2</sup> ... . Heraclides says that the disaster occurred in his own time, at night, the city being located twelve stades from the sea and this whole area being covered (with water) along with the city, and that two thousand men were sent from the Achaeans and were not able to recover the corpses, but divided the land among the bordering peoples. And that the disaster happened on account of the anger of Poseidon, for when the Ionians were expelled from Helike, they sent messengers to the Helikans and asked especially for the wooden statue of Poseidon, but if not that, then at the least (permission to) found a copy of the sanctuary. When the Helikans refused (Heraclides continues), the Ionians sent messengers to the federation of the Achaeans, and, when these had voted (in favor of the request), the Helikans even so did not obey. And in the following winter the disaster happened, and the Achaeans gave (permission to) found a copy of the sanctuary.

<sup>1</sup> Helike was a city in Achaia, Northern Peloponnesus.

<sup>2</sup> At Leuctra in Boeotia the Spartans were defeated by the Thebans in 371 B.C.



**26B** Diodorus, Bibliotheca Historica 15.48.4-49.6 (p.61.3–62.27 Vial)

- 46b W περὶ δὲ τῶν συμπτωμάτων (scil. destructionis Helices et Burae) μεγάλης οὔσης ζητήσεως, οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ πειρῶνται τὰς αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρειν ἀλλ' εἰς φυσικάς τινας καὶ κατηναγκασμένας περιστάσεις, οἱ δ' εὐσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον πιθανάς τινας αἰτίας 5 ἀποδιδούσι τοῦ συμβάντος, ὡς διὰ θεῶν μὴνιν γεγεννημένης τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβήσασιν· περὶ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψαι πειρασόμεθα τῇ κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίᾳ.
- 49.1 κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰώθεσαν κοινὴν ποι- 10 εἶσθαι σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιωνίων καὶ θυσίας συνθύειν ἀρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδῶνι περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλην ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ. ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιώνια, μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλὴ τόπον, ὃς ἦν πλησίον 15 τῆς Ἐφέσου. πέμψαντες δὲ θεωροὺς Πυθῶδε, χρησμοὺς ἔλαβον ἀφιδρύματα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ προγονικῶν αὐτοῖς βωμῶν ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς ἐν τῇ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίᾳ, νῦν δὲ 2 Ἀχαΐᾳ καλουμένη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν τοὺς ληψομένους τὰ ἀφιδρύματα· οὗτοι 20 δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διαλεχθέντες ἔπεισαν διδόναι τὰ ἀξιούμενα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑλίκην οἰκοῦντες, ἔχοντες παλαιὸν λόγιον ὅτι τότε κινδυνεύουσιν, ὅταν Ἴωνες ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θύσωσιν, ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸν χρησμὸν ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Ἴωσι περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων, λέ- 25 γοντες μὴ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ τέμενος· συνέπραττον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὴν Βούραν οἰκοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν κοινῷ δόγματι συγχωρησάντων, 3 οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν, οἱ δ' Ἑλικεῖς τὰ χρήματα διαρρίψαντες τῶν 30 Ἰώνων τοὺς τε θεωροὺς συνήρπασαν ἡσέβησάν τε εἰς τὸ θεῖον. ἀνθ' ὧν φασι μηνίσαντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα διὰ τοῦ σεισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τὰς ἀσεβούσας πόλεις λυ-



**26B** Diodorus, *The Library of History* 15.48.4–49.6 (p.61.3–62.27 Vial)

Concerning the disasters (*sc.* the destructions of Helike and Boura) there has been great inquiry. The physicists attempt to attribute the causes of these kinds of calamity not to the divine, but to certain physical causes and necessary circumstances, while those piously inclined toward the divine<sup>1</sup> give quite plausible reasons for the occurrence: namely, that the catastrophe had occurred because of the wrath of the gods against those who had offended the divine. I also shall attempt to write accurately about these things in my history dealing with each event.

- 49.1 Throughout Ionia nine cities were accustomed to hold a national assembly of the Panionians and together they used to make great ancient sacrifices to Poseidon in a remote spot in the area called Mykale. Later, when wars broke out in these regions and they were not able to hold the Panionia (there), they moved the common assembly to a safe location, which was near Ephesus. They sent sacred envoys to Delphi and received oracular responses instructing them to take copies of their ancient hereditary altars from Helike, in the region then called Ionia but now
- 2 called Achaea. Therefore the Ionians, in accordance with the oracle, sent men to Achaea in order to take the copies. And they addressed (their request) to the common body of the Achaeans and persuaded them to grant what was asked. But the residents of Helike, who possessed an ancient oracle that when Ionians made sacrifices on the altar of Poseidon, they would be in danger, thought over the oracle and denied the request of the Ionians concerning the copies, saying that the sanctuary did not belong
- 3 to all the Achaeans, but was their own private property. The residents of Boura took part with them in this refusal. But because the Achaeans had consented in a decision of all, the Ionians made a sacrifice on the altar of Poseidon in accordance with the oracle, while the Helikans scattered the possessions of the Ionians and arrested their sacred envoys, and they committed sacrilege against the divine. In response to this behavior, they (the piously inclined investigators) say, Poseidon became angry and ruined the
- 4 offending cities through the earthquake and the flood. And they say that there are clear proofs that the wrath against the cities had



- 4 μήνασθαι. τοῦ δ' ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος γεγονέναι τὴν μὴνιν ταῖς  
 πόλεσί φασιν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τῶν 35  
 σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν κατακλυσμῶν τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν διει-  
 λήφθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν Πε-  
 λοπόννησον οἰκητήριον γεγονέναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὴν χώ-  
 ραν ταύτην ὥσπερ ἱερὰν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νομίζεσθαι καὶ  
 τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις μάλιστα 40  
 5 τῶν ἀθανάτων τὸν θεὸν τιμᾶν τοῦτον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν  
 Πελοπόννησον κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλώματα καὶ  
 συστάσεις ὑδάτων ναματιαίων μεγάλας. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ  
 δύο ποταμοὺς φανεροὺς ῥέοντας ὑπὸ γῆν· ὃ τε γὰρ περὶ Φέ-  
 νεον ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν καταδυόμενος ἐν τοῖς προτέροις 45  
 χρόνοις ἠφανίζετο, τῶν κατὰ γῆς ἄντρων αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομέ-  
 νων, ὃ τε περὶ [τὸ] Στύμφαλον εἷς τι χάσμα καταδυόμενος  
 ἐπὶ διακοσίους σταδίους φέρεται κεκρυμμένος κατὰ γῆς  
 6 καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ἐξίησιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρη-  
 μένοις λέγουσιν, ὅτι πλὴν τῶν ἀσεβησάντων οὐδεὶς ἄλλος 50  
 περιέπεσε τῇ συμφορᾷ.

*De naturalibus causis, quibus terra concutitur atque Helice et Bura destructae sunt, vid. Callisthen. FGrH 124 F 19; Arist. Meteor. 2.8.366a23–7 (exemplum: Achaia); Ps.-Arist. De mundo 4.396a17–21 8 ἡμεῖς Diod. 16.61–4*

7 τοῖς *om. P* ἀσεβήσασι *MF*X: ἀσεβήμασι *P* 8 ἀκριβῶς *om. P* 18–19 ἐν τῇ ... Ἰωνία ... Ἀχαία καλουμένη *Madvig*: ἐν τῷ ... Ἰωνίας ... Ἀχαίας καλουμένης *codd. Vial* 30 χρήματα *codd. retenuit Vogel (coll. Diod. 15.82.1), cf. Ael. Var. hist. 1.1.20: θύματα Dindorf* 32 φασι *Stephanus*: φησὶν *PXM* 47 τὸ *PMF*: *del. Vogel* Στύμφηλον *Vogel*: Στύμφαλον *Vial*: Στύμφην *PXM*: Στύμφιον *F* τι *Dindorf*: τὸ *codd.*

**27** Plutarchus, Pericles 35.1–5 (BT t.1, fasc.2, p.41.20–42.22 Ziegler-Gärtner)

- 47 W ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἰᾶσθαι (scil. Περικλῆς) καὶ τι παραλυ-  
 πεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρου,  
 καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἵππεις ἀναβιβασάμε-  
 νος ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ  
 φόβον οὐκ ἐλάττω τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἰσχύος πα- 5  
 2 ρασχών. ἤδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέ-



come from Poseidon, since this god is distinguished for having command over earthquakes and floods, and because of the belief that in ancient times the Peloponnesus had become a home of Poseidon, and this region is believed to be, as it were, sacred to Poseidon, and in general all the cities in the Peloponnesus honor  
5 this god most of the immortals. In addition to these indications, they say that the Peloponnesus has large underground caverns and large accumulations of running waters. For there are on the Peloponnesus two rivers clearly flowing underground: one river, in the area of Pheneus,<sup>2</sup> diving into the ground, became invisible in earlier times, since underground caves absorb it, and the other, in the area of Stymphalus, plunges into a chasm, runs hidden under the earth for two hundred stades, and comes to the  
6 surface near the city of the Argives. In addition to the arguments given, they say that nobody other than those who had committed sacrilege experienced the disaster.

<sup>1</sup> “Piously inclined toward the divine”: contrary to contemporary authors (cp. Test. on **26A**), Heraclides attributed the cause for the destruction of Helike to the anger of Apollo (**26A**). This makes it most likely that Diodorus (**26B**), who refers to this sort of cause, used Heraclides’ account, and furthermore that Heraclides treated this event in his book *On Piety* (cp. Voss p. 44). Gottschalk p. 95 considers the alternative that this passage comes from *On Oracles* [**17** (54)].

<sup>2</sup> The Pheneus is located in the northern Peloponnese.

**27** Plutarch, *Pericles* 35.1–5 (*BT* v.1, fasc.2, p.41.20–42.22 Ziegler-Gärtner)

And wishing to cure these problems (the opposition against him arising from the plague) and to inflict some grief on his enemies, he (Pericles) manned one hundred and fifty ships, and after putting on board many good hoplites and cavalry he was ready to set sail, providing great hope to the citizens and no less  
2 fear to the enemy from such a great show of force. And when the ships had already been manned and Pericles had boarded his



- ους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ-  
 λιπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγῆναι δὲ πάντας  
 ὥς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον  
 τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπορημένον ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα 10  
 πρὸ τῶν ὄψεων αὐτοῦ καὶ παρακαλύψας ἠρώτησε, μή  
 τι δεινὸν ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἶεται σημεῖον· ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔφη·  
 'τί οὖν', εἶπεν, 'ἐκείνο τούτου διαφέρει, πλὴν ὅτι μείζον  
 τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς τὴν ἐπισκότησιν;' 15  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.  
 3 ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς πα-  
 ρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπί-  
 δαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχούσαν ὥς ἀλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ  
 τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 20  
 τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμείξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ  
 τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 4 (scil. Περικλέα) ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ  
 μὴν παρέλυσεν τῆς ὀργῆς οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον, ἢ τὰς  
 ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ γενομένους  
 κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, 25  
 ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντή-  
 5 κοντα δ' οἱ τὸν πλείστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ  
 κατήγορος, ὥς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὥς δὲ Θεόφρα-  
 στος, Σιμμίας· ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Λακρατείδην εἵ-  
 ρηκε. 30

1–6 cf. *Thuc.* 2.56.1–2; *Diod.* 12.45.3      6 sqq. *Thuc.* 2.28; *Cic. De rep.*  
 1.16.25      16–19 *Thuc.* 2.56.4–5      20 sqq. cf. *Thuc.* 2.65.1–3; *Diod.*  
 12.45.4–5; *Dem.* 26.6      28 sq. *Idomeneus Lampsacenus FGrH* 338 F 9  
*Theophr. fr.* 616 *FHS&G*      29 *Simmias: PA* 12664; *de Simmia vid. Plut.*  
*Praec. ger. reipubl.* 10 805 C      *Lacratides: PA* 8968; *PAA (t.15)* 600850;  
*LGPN (t.2)* p. 278

5 ἐλάττω: ἔλαττον *Y*      11 τῶν ὄψεων *S*: τῆς ὄψεως *Y*      14 τι *om. S*  
 23 τῆς ὀργῆς *Blass (coll. Thuc. 2.65.1)*: τὴν ὀργὴν *codd.*      μετέπεισε] γο  
 κατέπαυσε *S<sup>m</sup> (m 1)*      29 λακρατίδαν *codd. Wehrli: emend. Kaiser*

### Politica (28–35)

De regimine, liber unus] 17 (7)

Leges, liber unus] 17 (8a)



own trireme, a solar eclipse happened to occur<sup>1</sup> and darkness fell, and everyone began to panic as if at a great portent. Therefore Pericles, seeing that the pilot was overcome by fear and quite at a loss, held his cloak up in front of the pilot's eyes and covered them, then asked whether he thought it was anything terrifying or a sign of anything terrifying. When the pilot said it was not, Pericles said, "In what, then, does this differ from that, except that what has created the darkness is larger than the cloak?" Indeed these things are said in the schools of the philosophers.

- 3 Pericles, in any case, then sailed out and seems to have done nothing else worthy of this preparation, though he did besiege sacred Epidaurus, which offered the hope that it would be taken, but then failed due to the plague. For coming upon them, it (the plague) destroyed not only them, but also those who engaged with the army in any way. When the Athenians were angry at him (Pericles) after this, he tried to console and encourage them.
- 4 But before he could dissolve their anger or persuade them to change, they took into their hands voting ballots against him, gained the authority, and took away his generalship and fined him. The amount of the fine was fifteen talents according to those writers who give the lowest figure and fifty according to those who give the highest. The prosecutor recorded for the case, as Idomeneus<sup>2</sup> says, was Cleon, or, as Theophrastus says, Simmias. But Heraclides Ponticus has said it was Lacratides.
- 5

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides 2.28 dates this solar eclipse in the year 431.

<sup>2</sup> Idomeneus of Lampsacus, who lived in the middle of the 4th century to the first quarter of 3rd century B.C., was a politician and author of biographical works. The fragments of his works are collected in *FGrH* 338.

## Politics (28–35)

*On Governance*, one book] **17** (7)

*Laws*, one book] **17** (8a)



De legibus] **17** (8b)  
 Pacta, liber unus] **17** (10)  
 De potestate] **17** (52)

De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De potestate usitato  
 vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)  
 Vide etiam **155** (POxy. 664+3544), reliquias dialogi in quo de  
 tyranno Pisistrato agebatur

- 28** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.94 (BT t.1, p.67.12–  
 68.6 Marcovich)

<sup>144</sup> W Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλει-  
 δῶν γένους. οὗτος γήμας Λυσιδίην, ἣν αὐτὸς Μέλισσαν  
 ἐκάλει, τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρι-  
 σθενείας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ Ἀριστο-  
 μήδους θυγατέρα, οἱ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς 5  
 φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς, παῖδας  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησε δύο, Κύψελον καὶ Λυκόφρονα, τὸν μὲν  
 νεώτερον συνετόν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἄφρονα.

2 *Melissa*: Hdt. 5.92η 3 *Filia Proclis*: Hdt. 3.50; *Pythainetos* FGrH 299 F  
 3; *Paus.* 2.82.2; *Ath.* 13.56 589 F 6–8 *De duobus fratribus* vid. *Her.* 3.51

2 Λυσιδίην *Reiske, Hermes* 24 (1889), 307: Λυσίδην BPF<sup>3</sup> 4–5  
 ἀριστομήδους BP<sup>1</sup>QW: ἀριστοδήμου F<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>H 5 ἀρκαδίας BF<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>H:  
 ἡρακλείας P<sup>1</sup>QWH mg

- 29** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.98 (BT t.1, p.71.11–  
 14 Marcovich)

<sup>145</sup> W Σωτίων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ  
 τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν  
 μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτην. τοῦτο καὶ  
 Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις.

= *Neanthes* FGrH 84 F 19; 1–3 = *Arist. fr.* 517 R<sup>3</sup>



*On Laws*] **17** (8b)

*Contracts*, one book] **17** (10)

*On Power*] **17** (52)

Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Power* see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

See also **155** (*POxy.* 664+3544), the remains of a dialogue, in which Pisistratus is dealt with.

- 28** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.94 (*BT* v.1, p.67.12–68.6 Marcovich)

Periander the Corinthian,<sup>1</sup> son of Cypselus,<sup>2</sup> was from the line of the Heraclidae. He married Lysidice, whom he himself called Melissa, the daughter of Procles, the tyrant of the Epidaurians, and of Eristheneia, the daughter of Aristocrates and sister of Aristomedes. These in-laws ruled almost all of Arcadia, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Governance*. By her he had two sons, Cypselus and Lycophron; the younger<sup>3</sup> was clever but the elder was dimwitted.

<sup>1</sup> Periander was tyrant of Corinth, *ca.* 625–585 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth *ca.* 657–625 B.C. See Schütrumpf-Gehrke 1996, v. 3, note on Aristotle, *Politics* 5.12, 1315b22.

<sup>3</sup> Lycophron was the younger son. According to Hdt. 3.53 Periander wanted him to become his successor as tyrant. He was murdered on Corcyra.

- 29** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.98 (*BT* v.1, p.71.11–14 Marcovich)

Sotion<sup>1</sup> and Heraclides and Pamphila<sup>2</sup> in the fifth book of the *Recollections* say that there have been two (famous men with the name) Periander, one the tyrant,<sup>3</sup> but the other a wise man from Ambracia.<sup>4</sup> Neanthes of Cyzicus<sup>5</sup> also says this, and that they were cousins.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sotion, see **1** n. 5.



1 *Sotion SdA (Suppl. t.2) fr. 2 Pamphile fr. 5 Cagnazzi* 2 *De duobus viris nomine Periandri notatis cf. Ael. Var. hist. 12.35* 3 *De Periandro tyranno Ambraciam regente vid. Arist. Pol. 5.10 1311a39; Schütrumpf-Gehrke comment. ad 5.3.1303a23* 4 *De Periandro sapiente vid. 10.1 (t.1, p.61.21;24;28) DK; 3 ζ (t.1, p.65.15–66.3) DK* 4 *Neanthes FGrH 84 F 19*

**30** Cicero, *De legibus* 3.6.14 (p.95.8–20 Ziegler-Görler)

<sup>143</sup> W nam veteres verbo tenus acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque civilem, de re publica disserebant. Ab hac familia ista manarunt Platone principe. Post Aristoteles inlustravit omnem hunc civilem in disputando locum, Heraclidesque Ponticus profectus ab eodem Platone. 5 Theophrastus vero institutus ab Aristotele habitavit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus Dicaearchus huic rationi studioque non defuit. Post a Theophrasto Phalereus ille Demetrius, de quo feci supra mentionem, mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque 10 non modo in solem atque in pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit.

5 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad 1 v. 4–5* 6 *Theophr. fr. 591 FHS&G* 7–8 *Dicaearch. fr. 86 Mirhady* 9 *Demetr. Phaler. fr. 57 SOD*

3 ab hac familia *dett.*: ab hanc familia V: ab Academia *Haupt Ziegler* 10 eruditorum quaeodioque (*corr. in hodieque A<sup>2</sup>*) V, *corr. edd.*

**31** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 9.50 (BT t.1, p.667.4–7 Marcovich)

<sup>150</sup> W Πρωταγόρας Ἀρτέμωνος ἢ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Δί-



<sup>2</sup> Pamphila of Epidauros was a philologist and author of the 1st century A.D.; one of her works was *Historical Recollections* (Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα) in 33 books, from which this text comes.

<sup>3</sup> Periander was tyrant of Ambracia: Aristotle, *Politics* 5.10 1311a39. See Schütrumpf-Gehrke on 5.3 1303a23.

<sup>4</sup> Periander was considered one of the Seven Wise Men: DK 10.1 (I p. 61, 21; 24; 28); 3 ζ (p. 65.15–66.3).

<sup>5</sup> Neanthes of Cyzicus. Most probably there were two authors with this name. One was the orator who lived around 300 B.C. and the other was the historian who belonged to the end of the 3rd and maybe the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. See Jacoby, *FGrH* 2. Teil, C, Comm. on no. 84, p. 144–5.

<sup>6</sup> O. Regenbogen, *RE* XVIII 3, col. 314, considers it likely on the basis of the three names cited that Pamphila used Heraclides Lembus (see 1 n. 25), not Heraclides Ponticus.

### 30 Cicero, *On Laws* 3.6.14 (p.95.8–20 Ziegler-Görler)

For the ancients discussed the state incisively indeed, in so far as theory goes, but not with a view toward usefulness to people and citizens. These (discussions) spread more from that school of thought where Plato was the leader (of these debates), and later Aristotle elucidated this whole topic of politics in debate, as did Heraclides Ponticus,<sup>1</sup> who likewise got his start from Plato.<sup>2</sup> Theophrastus indeed, educated by Aristotle, was at home, as you know, in this sort of subject. And Dicaearchus, instructed by the same Aristotle, did not neglect this field of thought and study. Later a pupil of Theophrastus, that Deme-trius of Phaleron of whom I made mention above, brought the teaching in astonishing fashion from the shadows and armchairs of the learned not only into the sun and arena, but into the very front line and heat of battle.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero writes in general terms about Heraclides' interest in political philosophy. It is not clear whether he had any particular work of Heraclides in mind [cp. 17 (7); (8a, b); (52)].

<sup>2</sup> Cp. testimonia on 1.4–5.

### 31 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.50 (BT v.1, p.667.4–7 Marcovich)

Protagoras<sup>1</sup> son of Artemon, or, according to Apollodorus<sup>2</sup>



νων ἐν Περσικῶν ε', Μαιανδρίου, Ἀβδηρίτης, καθά φησιν  
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὃς καὶ Θουρί-  
οις νόμους γράψαι φησὶν αὐτόν.

= 80 A 1 (t.2, p.253) DK    1 Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 70    1–2 Dino FGrH  
690 F 6

1–2 Δίνων *sive* Δείνων Menagius: δίων BPFD    2 Περσικῶν ε' Diels  
*app. crit. ad* 80 A 1 (t.2, p.253) DK: περσικῶν ἐν P<sup>1</sup>Q: περσικοῖς ἐν  
BD: περσικοῖς FP<sup>4</sup>    μαιανδρίου PF: μεανδρίου BD: μαιανδρίδου ἢ  
νεανδρίου Suda (Π 2958 s.v. Πρωταγόρας): πατήρ ... Μαίανδρος *Phi-*  
*lostr. VS 1.10*

### 32 Plutarchus, Solon 22.4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.109.21–8 Ziegler)

<sup>146</sup> W    ἐκείνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον (scil. ἐν τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις),  
τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἐταίρας γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς  
πατέρας τρέφειν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ιστόρηκεν ὁ Ποντικὸς.  
ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἔνεκα δῆλός  
ἐστὶν ἄλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει <sup>5</sup>  
καὶ παρρησίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοι-  
πεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι πεποίηκεν ὄνειδος.

1 Solon fr. 56 Ruschenbusch

6 γεννωμένους Coraes Richards

### 33 Plutarchus, Solon 1.3–4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.82.8–14 Ziegler)

<sup>147</sup> W    τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς  
<sup>4</sup>    ιστορεῖ τῆς Πεισιστράτου μητρὸς ἀνεψιὰν γενέσθαι, καὶ  
φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς πολλὴ μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν,  
πολλὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ ὥραν, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν ἐρωτικῶς  
τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζομένου τοῦ Σόλωνος. <sup>5</sup>

3 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, cf. Diog. Laert. 1.49    4–5 De amore, qui fertur  
inter Solonem et Pisistratum exstitisse, vid. Arist. Ath. Pol. 17.2; Ael. Var. hist.  
8.16



and Dinon<sup>3</sup> in the fifth book of his *Persian Affairs*, son of Maiandrios, was a native of Abdera, according to what Heraclides Ponticus says in his (writings) *On Laws*,<sup>4</sup> and Heraclides also says he wrote the laws for Thurii.

<sup>1</sup> For Protagoras of Abdera, see **17** (49).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus *FGrH* 244.

<sup>3</sup> Dinon of Colophon, historian, 4th century B.C., wrote on *Persian Affairs* (Περσικά) down to the events of the year 343 B.C. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 690.

<sup>4</sup> **17** (8b).

**32** Plutarch, *Solon* 22.4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.109.21–8 Ziegler)

But this is yet more extreme (in Solon's laws), that it was not even required for sons born from a hetaira to support their fathers, as Heraclides Ponticus has related. For someone who disregards the honorable in his marriage clearly has taken a wife not for the sake of children, but for the sake of pleasure, and he receives in full his due and he has not left himself the right of scolding his children, for whom he has made the very fact of having been born a matter of shame.

**33** Plutarch, *Solon* 1.3–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.82.8–14 Ziegler)

4 Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon's mother was the cousin of the mother of Pisistratus.<sup>1</sup> And at first there was a close friendship between them, first because of their blood relationship, and also because of natural beauty and youth, and there are some who say that Solon had an erotic affection for Pisistratus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For what is known about the connections between the families of Solon and Pisistratus, cp. Davies *APF* 8792, I, p. 322–3; 11793, II, p. 445. The name of the mother of Pisistratus — or of her cousin — is not known: Schachermeyer, *RE* XIX 1, col. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Wehrli p. 109 argues that Heraclides bases the friendship between Solon and Pisistratus on their family relations and that it is, therefore, unlikely that the erotic relationship was part of his account. For chronological reasons, it is rejected by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 17.2.



**34** Plutarchus, Solon 32.3 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.123.14-17 Ziegler)

<sup>148</sup> W ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου  
 τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συχνὸν  
 χρόνον, ὡς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν.

3 *Phanias: SdA (t.9) fr. 21; FGrH IVA fasc.1 1012 F 15*

1 οὖν ὁ Σόλων *om. S* συχνὸν *Y*: πολὺν *S*

**35** Plutarchus, Solon 31.2–5 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.122.5–21 Ziegler)

<sup>149</sup> W οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν  
 πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐξεθεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα τιμῶν καὶ  
 φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὥστε καὶ σύμ-  
 βουλον εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρassoμένων ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ  
 3 γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τῶν Σόλωνος, 5  
 ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάζων· ὅς γε  
 καὶ φόνου προσκληθεὶς εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἤδη τυραννῶν,  
 ἀπήντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ  
 ὑπήκουσε· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἐτέρους ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ  
 ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύ- 10  
 4 ων. τοῦτο δὲ φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θερσίπ-  
 πῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ Σόλωνος ψηφισαμένου μιμήσασθαι τὸν  
 5 Πεισίστρατον. ὡς δ' ὁ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς  
 ἀργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος, ᾧ τήν  
 τε χώραν ἐνεργοτέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡρεμαιοτέραν ἐποί- 15  
 ησεν.

5 ἐφύλαττε ... 8 (ἀπολογησόμενος): *Arist. Ath. Pol. 16.8* 6–8 *Arist. Pol.*  
*5.12 1315b21–2* 11–12 *Thersippus: PA 7196; PAA (t.9) 512980* 12  
*Solon fr. 146 Ruschenbusch* 13 *Theophr. fr. 608 FHS&G* *De lege*  
*Solonis de inertia vid. Plut. Sol. 22.3*

5 τῶν *Lindskog*: τοῦ *codd.* 13 δ' ὁ *S*: δὲ *Y* 15 ἐνεργοτέραν *Lind-*  
*skog*: ἐνεργεστέραν *Y et superscriptum S*



**34** Plutarch, *Solon* 32.3 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.123.14–17 Ziegler)

At any rate, after Pisistratus had begun to rule as tyrant, Solon continued to live, according to Heraclides Ponticus for a considerable time, but according to Phantias of Eresus<sup>1</sup> for less than two years.

<sup>1</sup> Phantias (alternative spelling Phainias: Wehrli *SdA* v. 9, 27; *FGrH* 1012) of Eresus (on Lesbos) was a contemporary of Theophrastus (see Theophrastus' letter fr. 374 FHS&G). The date given for Solon's death by Phantias might be based on Aristotle, whereas Heraclides' vague dating might be intended to allow the possibility of Solon meeting Croesus: Davies *APF* 8792, II (p. 323–4).

**35** Plutarch, *Solon* 31.2–5 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.122.5–21 Ziegler)

However, Pisistratus, after he took control of things, so much cultivated Solon by honoring him, treating him kindly, and summoning him that he (Pisistratus) actually became his (Solon's) advisor and praised much of what he did. For he (Pisistratus) preserved the majority of Solon's laws, observing them himself in the first instance and forcing his friends to do so. He was even summoned before the Areopagus on a charge of murder, when already a tyrant, and showed up for his defence ready to argue as was fit and due, but the prosecutor did not appear. And he himself wrote other laws, among which is also the one commanding that those incapacitated in war be supported at public expense. But Heraclides says that even earlier Solon had sponsored such a decree in the case of Thersippus, who had been incapacitated, and that Pisistratus followed his example. As Theophrastus has reported, the law about idleness<sup>1</sup> too was not established by Solon, but by Pisistratus, who thereby made the countryside more productive and the city quieter.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus 2.177.1–2 claims that Solon took over this law from the Egyptian king Amasis, but this is chronologically improbable since Solon's travels took place after his legislation in Athens: Hdt. 1.29.1–30.1. A law about idleness had been attributed as well to Draco (Plut. *Sol.* 17.2), see R.W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council, to 307 B.C.*, Baltimore-London 1985, 62–4; 244 n. 60.



De Amore, De Voluptate (36–45)

Amatorius vel Clinias, liber unus] 17 (12)

De voluptate] 17 (13)

De comico modo dicendi in libro De voluptate usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= 1)

- 36** Hermias, Scholia in Platonis Phaedrum 230E (p.33.11–12; 17–19 Couvreur-Zintzen)

<sup>64</sup> W οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἀπλῶς φαῦλον τὸ ἐρᾶν ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ... οἱ δὲ ἀπλῶς ἀστεῖον ὡς Ἡρακλείδης, φιλίας λέγων εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου τινός, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ τινὰς ἐκπίπτειν εἰς ἀφροδίσια.

1–2 *Epicur. fr. 483 Us.* 2 ἀστεῖον *cf. Alex. Aphr. In Arist. Top. libros octo comment. II 2, p.139.21 (CAG t.2, pars 2)* τὸ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἔρως ἀστεῖον πρόβλημα, *cf. Suda E 3070 s.v. Ἔρως (t.2, p.417.14) Adler* 2–3 φιλίας ... εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, *cf. Plat. Symp. 195C5–6* εἰ Ἔρως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, ... φιλία καὶ εἰρήνη (ἂν ἐγίγνοντο) ----→

- 37** Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.78 602A–C (BT t.3, p. 327.16–20; 25–328.16 Kaibel)

<sup>65</sup> W Ἰερώννυμος δ' ὁ Περιπατητικὸς περισπουδάστους φησὶν



Eros, Pleasure (36–45)

(*Dialogue*) concerning Love or Clinias,<sup>1</sup> one book] 17 (12)  
*On Pleasure*]<sup>2</sup> 17 (13)

Concerning the comic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Pleasure* see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= 1).

<sup>1</sup> Clinias. This could be either Clinias III, the son of Axiochus (Davies *APF* 600, VI (B), p. 17). Clinias III is an interlocutor in conversations with Socrates in Plato (*Euthyd.* 273A5; 275A10–B1) and Xenophon (*Symp.* 4.12f.; 23); he is the lover of the Athenian Critobulus (Plato, *Euthyd.* 271B) of the deme Alopece. Or he could have been his cousin Clinias IV (Davies *APF* 600, VI (A), p. 16; VII, p. 17–18 — his father Clinias II was the brother of Axiochus) whom Heraclides had in mind (Wehrli, p. 81, prefers this identification). He was the younger brother of Alcibiades, the interlocutor of Socrates in Plato's dialogue on love, the *Symposium*. In [Plat.] *Alc. I* 118E4 this Clinias is characterized as “mad, insane” (μαϊνόμενον).

<sup>2</sup> The fragments from the work *On Pleasure* (39–44) avoid hiatus: Voss p. 39–40.

- 36** Hermias, *Scholia on Plato's Phaedrus* 230E (p.33.11–12; 17–19 Couvreur-C. Zintzen)

For some assumed that loving is simply vulgar, for example Epicurus, ..., but others, that it is simply fine, for example Heraclides, who said that love aims at friendship and at nothing else, even though some people fall into sex by accident.

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2 ἀστέιον *A<sup>a</sup>*: ἀστέϊαν *vel* ἀστέϊσιν *M*: ἀστέϊον *Ast* Ἡρακλείδης  
*BCEM*: ὁ Εὐκλείδης *A<sup>a</sup>* φιλίας *codd.*: φιλίαν *Ast* 3 ἄλλου τινός  
 <παρασκευαστικόν> *Meineke ex Ath. 13.12 561C*, at ἔρωτα φιλίας *Diog. Laert. 7.130 = Zeno SVF t.3, fr. 716 (R. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften, T. II, Leipzig 1882, p.392 adn.3 [in p.397])*, cf. *Cic. Tusc. 4.33.70 quis enim est ille amor amicitiae?*

- 37** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.78 602A–C (*BT* v.3, p.327.16–20; 25–328.16 Kaibel)

Hieronimus the Peripatetic<sup>1</sup> says that love affairs with boys



γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας, ὅτι πολλάκις ἢ τῶν  
 νέων ἀκμὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐταιρικὸν συμφρονήσαν  
 πολλὰς τυραννίδας καθεῖλεν. παιδικῶν γὰρ παρόντων  
 ἐραστῆς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἔλοιτ' ἂν παθεῖν ἢ δειλοῦ δόξαν ἀπεν- 5  
 ἐγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς παιδικοῖς. ἔργῳ γοῦν τοῦτο ἔδειξεν ...  
 (*exempla omittuntur*) περὶ Σικελίαν δ' ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὁ Χα-  
 B ρίτωνος καὶ Μελάνιππου <ἔρωτος>. Μελάνιππος δ' ἦν τὰ  
 παιδικά, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
 ἐρωτικῶν. οὗτοι φανέντες ἐπιβουλεύοντες Φαλάριδι καὶ 10  
 βασανιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότας  
 οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς  
 ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὥς ἀπολύσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὰ  
 ἐπαινέσαντα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβο-  
 λὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας 15  
 τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται.  
 C ἔχρησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ  
 ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύ-  
 σιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλε-  
 γείοις. ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς ὅδε· 20  
 εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ,  
 θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐφ' αμερίοις φιλότατος.

1 Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 35 White 4–6 vid. Plat. Symp. 178D4–179A8; Xen.  
 Symp. 8.32–3 7–22 De Charitone et Melanippo vide Ael. Var. hist. 2.4;  
 ap. Plut. Amat. 16 760C Melanippus amator maior natu est 21–2 = no.  
 327 (t.2, p.131) Parke-Wormell; Oenomaus fr. 12 Hammerstaedt (at v.2 θείας  
 ἀγητῆρες ἐν ἀνθρώποις διχονοίας)

3 ἐταιρικὸν *glossema esse suspicatus est Kaibel* 4 παιδικῶν Schweighäuser,  
 coll. Plat. Symp. 179A3: παίδων A 8 ἔρωτος add. Schweighäuser 17 δὲ  
 Wilamowitz: τε A

**38A** Scholia in Germanici Aratea BP p.102 (p.194.1–15 Eratosthe-  
 nes, Catasterismorum Reliquiae, Robert)

66a W de quinque stellis, quas planetas vocant ob adsiduos ea-  
 rum motus. quinque deis adsignaverunt. de his <primus>  
 Phaenon, quem Heraclides Ponticus refert <a> Prometheo  
 pulcherrimum fictum hominem. quem cum occulisset et  
 Cupido eum Iovi indicasset, misit <is> Mercurium, qui eum 5



became much sought after because the prime age of the young men and their social relations with each other had often conspired to destroy the rule of many tyrants. For in the presence of the beloved, a lover would choose to suffer any kind of hardship rather than gain a reputation for cowardice with his beloved. This at least was proved in fact ... in Agrigentum on Sicily by  
 B the love affair of Chariton and Melanippus. Melanippus was the beloved, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Matters of Love*. These two were discovered to be plotting against Phalaris,<sup>2</sup> and when they were being forced under torture to state their fellow conspirators, not only did they not disclose them, but they even led Phalaris himself into pity for the torturing, with the result that he praised them highly and released them. For this reason Apollo, pleased at these developments, granted as a favor to Phalaris a postponement of his death, and revealed this to those who inquired of the Pythia how they should attack him. He gave a pronouncement also about Chariton and his circle,  
 C setting the pentameter before the hexameter, just as later Dionysius the Athenian, the one called “Brazen”,<sup>3</sup> did too in his elegies. And this is the oracle:

Happy were Chariton and Melanippus,  
 Leaders for mortals in divine friendship.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hieronymus the Peripatetic came from Rhodes and belongs to the 3rd century. The fragments are collected by White, *RUSCH* vol. XII, see *DPhA* 3 H 129.

<sup>2</sup> Phalaris was tyrant of Acragas (Sicily) *ca.* 570–555, see **117A**.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius belongs to the 5th century B.C. He recommended the introduction of copper coinage in Athens, which gave rise to his nickname.

<sup>4</sup> For ancient variations of this story, cp. Gottschalk p. 93 n. 18.

**38A** Scholia on Germanicus’ *Aratea* BP p.102 (p.194.1–15 Eratosthenes, *Remains of Conversions into Stars*, Robert)

Concerning the five stars which people call planets on account of their constant motion: they have assigned these to five gods. The first of these is Phaenon, who, as Heraclides Ponticus reports, was made a most handsome man by Prometheus. After Prometheus had concealed him and Cupid had pointed



tamquam ad immortalitatem vocaret. qui non ante adnuit, quam potione accepta caelo receptus honoratus est. Iovis est stella Phaenon.

1–2 *Ps.-Eratosthen. Catasterismi* (p.51.5–8 *Olivieri 1897*); *Achilles Comment. in Aratum reliqu.* 17 ( p.43 *Maass* <sup>2</sup>1958) 7–8 *Iovis est stella Phaenon: differebat Ps.-Arist. De mundo* 2. 392a24 ὁ τοῦ Φαέθοντος (κύκλος) Διὸς λεγόμενος

1 quas *Schaubach*: quae *BP* adsiduos: *auctor commentarii Latini legit* αἰδίαν *pro correcta lectione* ἰδίαν *ut monet Wilamowitz* 2 deis ε: dies *BP* 2–3 de his <primus> Phaenon, quem *Schaubach*: de his hae non, quae *BP* (πρῶτον μὲν Διός, Φαίνοντα, κτλ., *Ps.-Eratosth. Catasterismi* p.51.7–8 *Olivieri 1897*) 3 a *add. Schaubach* 5 eum Iovi β: *etuitivut BP* is *add. β*

### 38B Hyginus, De astronomia 2.42.1 (BT p.91.1315–22 Viré)

<sup>66b</sup> W quarum (scil. quinque stellarum, quas planetas Graeci dixerunt) una est Iovis, nomine Phaethon, quem Heraclides Ponticus ait, quo tempore Prometheus homines finxerit, † in his et † hunc pulchritudine corporis reliquos praestantem fecisse eumque suppressere cogitare neque Iovi ut ceteros 5 reddere et Cupidinem Iovi nuntiasse; quo facto missum Mercurium ad Phaethontem persuasisse ut ad Iovem veniret et immortalis fieret; itaque eum inter astra collocatum.

2 Photon *M*: Phoeton *PW*: Pheton *M<sup>corr</sup>*: Phaenon *Bunte Le Bæuffle* quem *om.* δ: quam *P*: de qua *LZ* Erachydes *R*: Eradides *W*: Eraclydes *R<sup>corr</sup>* 3 Panticus *R*: Pontificus *RE* 4 constituisse *add. ante in L* in his et *ex scholiis*: inisset *SP*: iniisset *NE*: in iis et *M*: finiisset *A*: *om.* *M<sup>corr</sup>* *RP<sup>corr</sup>* *FδZ Bunte, Le Bæuffle* 5 Iovi *P<sup>corr</sup>*: Iovis *RP om.* *M<sup>corr</sup>* *R<sup>corr2</sup>* *Fδ Le Bæuffle* ut ceteros *om.* *M<sup>corr</sup>*: ut certum *R<sup>corr2</sup>* *Fδ* 6 reddere et *Le Bæuffle*: redderet *codd.* 7 Phetonda *N*: Photonta *M*: Phoetonta *W*: Phaenonta *Bunte Le Bæuffle*

### 39 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.5 512A–D (BT t.3, p.130.8–131.19 Kaibel)

<sup>55</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῷ Περί ἡδονῆς τάδε λέγει· οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὄντες κύριοι καὶ πάντων εἰληφότες πείραν τὴν ἡδονὴν προκρίνουσιν, μεγαλοψυχότερας ποιούσης τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰς τῶν ἀν-



him out to Jupiter, he (Jupiter) sent Mercury to summon him as if it were to grant him immortality. Phaenon did not accept until he had been given a magic potion<sup>1</sup> and was received into heaven and honored (there). Phaenon is the star of Jupiter.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: “until a magic potion had been taken (by him).” Does this refer to ambrosia? In this case, the story is very similar to the arrangement of marriage between Cupid and Psyche in Apul. *Met.* 6.23.5: “et ilico (Iuppiter) per Mercurium arripi Psychen et in caelum perducere iubet et prorecto ambrosiae poculo ‘sume’, inquit ‘Psyche, et immortalis esto’ ...” (N. Lenski drew my attention to this passage). If there was no reference to a ‘potion,’ could *potione* be a mistaken reading for *portione*? That is: Phaenon did not accept until he had received a part (of the sky) by becoming a star.

### 38B Hyginus, *Astronomy* 2.42.1 (BT p.91.1315–22 Viré)

Of these (*i.e.*, the five planet stars, which the Greeks have called ‘planets’) one is of Jupiter, Phaethon by name. Heraclides Ponticus said that at the time Prometheus created men, he made this man outstanding above the others in beauty of body, and when he was considering holding him back and not turning him over to Jupiter as he did with the others, Cupid brought word to Jupiter. As a result Mercury was sent to Phaethon and persuaded him that he should come to Jupiter and be made immortal. And so they say he was placed among the stars.

### 39 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.5 512A–D (BT v.3, p.130.8–131.19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says the following: “tyrants and kings, who have control over all the good things and have tried them all, judge pleasure the foremost good because pleasure makes the nature of humans more magnani-



- B θρώπων φύσεις. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ 5  
 τρυφᾶν προηρημένοι μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰ-  
 σιν, ὡς Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι. μάλιστα γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀν-  
 θρώπων τὴν ἡδονὴν οὗτοι καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν τιμῶσιν, ἀνδρει-  
 ότατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὄντες. ἐστὶ 10  
 γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡδεσθαι καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀνίησι γὰρ  
 τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ αὖξει, τὸ δὲ πονεῖν δούλων καὶ ταπεινῶν.  
 διὸ καὶ συστέλλονται οὗτοι καὶ τὰς φύσεις. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναίων  
 πόλις, ἕως ἐτρούφα, μεγίστη τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχοτάτους 15  
 C ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἀλουργή μὲν γὰρ ἡμπίσχοντο ἱμάτια, ποι-  
 κίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι 20  
 τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς  
 κόρρας ἐφόρουν. ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ  
 παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν. καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ  
 τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μάχην καὶ μόνοι τὴν τῆς Ἀσί-  
 ας ἀπάσης δύναμιν χειρωσάμενοι. καὶ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι δέ', 25  
 φησὶν, 'καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφία ἔχοντες μέγιστον  
 ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι νομίζουσιν, Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὕτω-  
 σι λέγων  
 τίς γὰρ ἀδονᾶς ἄτερ θνα-  
 τῶν βίος ποθεινὸς ἢ ποί- 25  
 α τυραννίς;  
 D τᾶσδ' ἄτερ οὐδὲ θεῶν ζηλωτὸς αἰών.  
 Πίνδαρος <δὲ> παραινῶν Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίῳ ἄρχοντι  
 'μηδ' ἀμαύρου', φησί, 'τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ, πολὺ τοι 30  
 φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών'.  
 καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὸ εὐφραίνεισθαι  
 'τέλος' φησὶν εἶναι 'χαριέστερον', ὅταν 'δαιτυμόνες' μὲν  
 ἀοιδοῦ ἀκουάζωνται, 'παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι', τοὺς δὲ  
 θεοὺς φησὶν εἶναι 'ρεῖα ζῶοντας' — τὸ δὲ ρεῖα ἐστὶν ἀπόνως  
 — ὥσπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν κακῶν ἡ 35  
 περὶ τὸ ζῆν ταλαιπωρία καὶ ὁ πόνος.'

1–20 (χειρωσάμενοι) *Ael. Var. hist.* 4.22; *Socrates ibid.* 10.14 22 *Sim-  
 nides PMG* 584 28 *Pind. fr.* 126 *Maehler* 31–34 *Hom. Od.* 9.5–8 οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐγώ (*i.e. Odysseus*) γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι / ἢ ὅτ' εὐφροσύνη  
 μὲν ἔχη κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα, / δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται  
 ἀοιδοῦ, / ἡμενοὶ ἐξεΐης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι / σίτου καὶ κρειῶν  
 ..., *cf. Plat. Rep.* 3.390A10; *Arist. Pol.* 8.3 1338a29–30; [*Hes.*] *Cert. Hom. et  
 Hes.* 79–81; *Ps.-Plut. De Hom.* 150 (*Kindstrand*); *Ps.- Heracl. Quaestiones*



B mous. In any case, all those who value pleasure and choose to live in luxury are magnanimous and magnificent, such as the Persians and the Medes. For these people most of all human beings value pleasure and living in luxury, and they are the bravest and most magnanimous of the barbarians. For experiencing pleasure and living in luxury are characteristic of free people, because this frees their souls and strengthens them, whereas laboring is characteristic of slaves and the lowly: for this reason such people are actually contracted in their natures. And the city of the Athenians, as long as it enjoyed luxury, was at its greatest and nurtured the most magnanimous men. For they wore purple cloaks, and they put on embroidered tunics, and they bound up their hair in knots on the crown of their head and wore golden cicadas as ornaments on their brow and temples. And their slaves carried folding chairs for them, so that they would not sit down just in any place. Such were those who were victorious at Marathon and single-handedly defeated the power of all Asia. The most sensible men,” he says, “who have the greatest reputation for wisdom, believe pleasure is the greatest good. Simonides for example says this:

C For what life of mortals is desirable without pleasure, or what kind of tyranny?

D Without this (pleasure) not even the life of the gods is enviable.

<And> Pindar, advising Hieron ruler of the Syracusans:

‘Do not diminish,’ he says, ‘joy in life; indeed much the best thing for man is a joyful life.’

And Homer too says that good cheer and merriment is ‘the finest goal,’ when ‘feasters’ listen to a singer and ‘the tables beside them are laden,’ and he says the gods ‘live easily’ — and easily is without toil — as if to show that hardship and toil in life are the greatest of evils.”

*Homericae* 79      34 ῥεῖα ζώοντας: *Hom. Od.* 4.805; 5.122 *et alibi*

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1 ἐν τῷ *Musurus*: ἐκ τῶν A    7 τῶν ἄλλων A: πάντων E    9 βαρβάρων: ἀνθρώπων E    *post ὅντες lacunam indicavit Voss*    17 κόρρας Birt: κόμας AE    18 καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ *Wilamowitz*: καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἱ τὴν *codd.*, *Ath. epit.*, vol.2,2 p.74 *Peppink*: οἱ τοιοῦτοι *del. Kaibel*    24 γὰρ *om. E*    24–25 θνητῶν AE    27 τᾶς δ’ AE: δ’ *secl. Kaibel*    28 δὲ *add. Kaibel*    32 χαριέστατον *Meineke*



- 40** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.81 554E–F (BT t.3, p.223.26–224.14 Kaibel)

<sup>56</sup> W ἐν μανίᾳ δὲ τρυφὴν ἡδίστην γενομένην οὐκ ἀηδῶς ὁ  
 Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης διηγείται ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς οὕτως  
 γράφων· ὁ Αἰξωνεὺς Θράσυλλος ὁ Πυθοδώρου διετέθη  
 ποτὲ ὑπὸ μανίας τοιαύτης ὥς πάντα τὰ πλοῖα τὰ εἰς τὸν  
 Πειραιᾶ καταγόμενα ὑπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀπε- 5  
 γράφετο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέστελλε καὶ διώκει καὶ καταπλέοντα  
 F ἀπεδέχετο μετὰ χαρᾶς τοσαύτης, ὅσησπερ ἂν τις ἡσθείη  
 τοσοῦτων χρημάτων κύριος ὢν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολομένων  
 οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτει, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἔχαιρεν καὶ διήγεν μετὰ  
 πλείστης ἡδονῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κρίτων ἐκ Σικε- 10  
 λίας ἐπιδημήσας συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν ἰατρῷ καὶ  
 τῆς μανίας ἐπαύσατο, διηγείτο <πολλάκις περὶ τῆς ἐν μανίᾳ  
 διατριβῆς> οὐδεπώποτε φάσκων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἡσθῆναι  
 πλείονα. λύπην μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἦντινοῦν αὐτῷ παραγίγνε-  
 σθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλειν.' 15

= *Ael. Var. hist.* 4.25, cf. *Soph. Aj.* 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος  
 βίος; *Ps.-Arist. Mir.* 31. 832b17–21, cf. *Hor. ep.* 2.2, 128–40 3 *Thrasyllus*  
*Pythodori filius*: PA 7339; PAA (t.9) 517600 10 *Crito Thrasylli frater*: PA  
 8822; PAA (t.10) 585820

3 ἀξωνεὺς θρασύλαος A: corr. Schweighäuser, Meineke ex *Ael. Var. hist.*  
 4.25 Θράσυλλος ὁ Αἰξωνεὺς 4 τοιαύτης codd.: τοιούτως proposuit  
 Kaibel 6 ἀπέστελλε Meineke: ἀπέστειλε A: om. E 7 ἡσθείη Meineke:  
 εἶη codd. 9 οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτησεν *Ath. epit.*, vol.2,2 p.99 Peppink (*differt app.*  
*crit. editionis Athenaei a Kaibel editae*: οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτει E): οὐδὲ ἐπεζήτει  
 οὐδὲν proposuit Kaibel 12–13 πολλάκις περὶ τῆς ἐν μανίᾳ διατριβῆς *vel*  
*simile aliquid supplendum esse proposuit Kaibel, collato Ael. Var. hist.* 4.25

- 41** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.30 525F–526A (BT t.3, p.160.14–17 Kaibel)

<sup>57</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς Σαμίους  
 526 φησὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τρυφήσαντας διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 μικρολογίαν ὥσπερ Συβαρίτας τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι.

1 *De luxuria Samiorum* cf. *Duris FGrH* 76 F 60; *Timaeus FGrH* 566 F 50  
 3 *De destructione urbis Sybaris* vid. **22** ---->



- 40 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.81 554E–F (BT v.3, p.223.26–224.14 Kaibel)

F Heraclides Ponticus narrates not unpleasantly in his (work) *On Pleasure* that in a state of madness luxury becomes most pleasant, writing as follows: “Thrasyllus of the deme Aexone,<sup>1</sup> son of Pythodorus, was once afflicted with a madness of such a kind, with the result that he took all the ships landing at the Peiraeus to be his own. He registered them in his accounts, and sent them out and managed them, and when they returned he received them with such great joy, as one would feel with pleasure in being the owner of so much wealth. He made no search at all for those that were lost, but he rejoiced in those that came back safe, and he lived with the greatest pleasure. But when his brother Crito returned home from Sicily, he (Crito) took hold of him (Thrasyllus) and turned him over to a doctor, and (Thrasyllus) was cured of his madness. Then he <quite often told stories about his life in madness,> saying that he had never once enjoyed life more. For not a single sort of pain had befallen him, and the quantity of his pleasures was far greater.”

<sup>1</sup> Aexone was a deme in Attica, belonging to the tribe Cecropis.

- 41 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.30 525F–526A (BT v.3, p.160.14–17 Kaibel)

526 Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says that the Samians lived in excessive luxury and through their pettiness toward each other ruined their city just as the Sybarites (did).

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3 μικρολογίαν: φιλοτιμίαν Kaibel



42 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.52 536F–537C (BT t.3, p.183. 13–184.24 Kaibel)

- 58 W περὶ δὲ Καλλίου καὶ τῶν τούτου κολάκων φθάνομεν  
καὶ πρότερον εἰπόντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καινῶς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ  
Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἄνωθεν  
ἀναλαβὼν διηγήσομαι. ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐστρά- 5  
τευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τότε, ὡς φασιν, Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνὴρ Διό-  
μνηστος κύριος ἐγένετο τῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χρημάτων.  
ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τῷ ἐκείνου σκηνῶν καὶ τὰ χρήμα-  
537A τα εἰς οἶκημά τι θέμενος τῆς οἰκίας· τελευτησάντων δὲ πάν-  
των διέλαθεν ἔχων ὁ Διόμνηστος τὸ χρυσίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν 10  
ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν  
στράτευμα, προστάξας ἀνάστατον [γενέσθαι] ποιῆσαι τὴν  
πόλιν, εἰκότως ὑπεξετίθεντο, ὅσοι χρημάτων ἠὺπόρουν. οἱ  
οὖν καταλείμμενοι τῆς τοῦ Διομνήστου οἰκίας παρ' Ἰπ-  
πόνικον τὸν Καλλίου τὸν Ἀμμωνα ἐπικαλούμενον ὑπεξ-  
έθεντο τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἀνασκευασθέντων 15  
ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀπάντων <τῶν> Ἐρετριέων κατέσχον  
B οὗτοι τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα. ὥστε Ἰππόνικος ὁ ἀπ' ἐκεί-  
νου γεγονὼς τοῦ τὴν παρακαταθήκην λαβόντος ἤτησεν  
Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τόπον, ἵν' οἰκοδομήσῃται  
τοῖς χρήμασιν ὅπου κείσεται, [λέγων] ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ὄν 20  
ἐν ιδιωτικῇ οἰκίᾳ πολλὰ χρήματα εἶναι. καὶ ἔδοσαν <ἂν>  
Ἀθηναῖοι, νουθετηθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μετενόησεν. τού-  
των οὖν [όντων] τῶν χρημάτων Καλλίας κύριος γενόμενος  
καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν βιώσας – ποῖοι γὰρ οὐ κόλακες ἢ τί πλή-  
C θος οὐχ ἐταίρων περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ποίας δὲ δαπάνας οὐχ 25  
ὑπερεώρα κείνος; – ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν περιέ-  
στησεν <ἀπορίας> ὁ περὶ ἡδονὴν βίος ὥστε μετὰ γραδίου  
βαρβάρου διατελεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῶν  
καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεὲς γενόμενος τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.  
τὸν δὲ Νικίου', φησί, τοῦ Περγασήθεν πλοῦτον ἢ τὸν 30  
Ἰσχομάχου τίνες ἀπώλεσαν; οὐκ Αὐτοκλῆς καὶ Ἐπικλῆς  
οἱ μετ' ἀλλήλων ζῆν προελόμενοι καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι



- 42 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.52 536F–537C (BT v.3, p.183.13–184.24 Kaibel)

Concerning Callias and his flatterers, we have already spoken previously. But since Heraclides Ponticus reports novel things about him in his (work) *On Pleasure*, I will take up this topic from the beginning and narrate it fully. “According to tradition, when the Persians first invaded Euboea,<sup>1</sup> at that time Diomnestus, a citizen of Eretria, came into control of the general’s money. For the general happened to have put up his tent on his  
 537A farm, and had placed his money in a room of his house, and, when the whole army perished, nobody noticed that Diomnestus had the gold. But when the Persian king again sent an army into Eretria, ordering it to lay the city to waste, naturally everyone who was well off moved their money to a place of safety. So those remaining of the house of Diomnestus moved their money to Athens for safety, to Hipponicus son of Callias, who is nicknamed Ammon.<sup>2</sup> And when all the Eretrians were transplanted  
 B by the Persians, these men (Hipponicus and Callias) kept the money, which was a considerable sum. So it came about that Hipponicus, grandson of the man who had received the deposit, once requested from the Athenians a site on the Acropolis where he could build a structure to house the money, since he considered it not safe for a large sum of money to remain in a private house. And the Athenians would have granted his request, but he was warned to reconsider by his friends and changed his mind. So Callias came into control of this money and lived for  
 C pleasure. For what sort of flatterers did he lack? Or what crowd of companions did not surround him? What scale of expenditure did he not scorn as trivial? But nevertheless his life of pleasure brought him into such a state of poverty that he was forced to live on with an old woman of barbarian origin, and he ended his life having become needy of daily necessities.

And who,” he says, “squandered the wealth of Nicias of Pergase,<sup>3</sup> or that of Ischomachus? Was it not Autocles and Epicles, who preferred to live with each other and considered everything



ποιούμενοι τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατανάλωσαν, κώνει-  
ον πiónτες ἅμα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν;'

*Ael. Var. hist. 4.23; alia narratio originis divitiarum Calliae: Plut. Aristid. 5.7–8* 30 *Nicias Pergaseus: PAA (t.13) no. 712685* 31 *Ischomachus: Davies APF 7826.XIII,XIV; PAA (t.9) no. 542570* *Autocles: PA 2718; PAA (t.4) no. 238935* *Epicles: PA 4844; PAA (t.6) no. 393135*

11 γενέσθαι *del. Dindorf: ποιῆσαι del. Schweighäuser* 16 τῶν *add. Musurus* 20 λέγων *del. Meineke* 21 ἄν *add. Wilamowitz* 23 ὄντων *A: om. E: del. Kaibel* 27 ἀπορίας *add. Meineke ex Ael. Var. hist. 4.23* εἰς ἀπορίαν περιέστησεν 31 Ἐπικλέης *codd., edd.: Ἐφικλέης Wehrli — ignoro unde* 32 *post μετ' ἀλλήλων Voss (nisus partim Ael. Var. hist. 4.23) ἀσωτεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ κατ' ἐγκράτειαν supplevit* 34 ἐτελεύτησαν *Schweighäuser: κατανάλωσαν · ἐτελεύτησαν A: ἀπέθανον E*

**43** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.45 533C (BT t.3, p.176.9–14 Kaibel)

<sup>59</sup> W Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Πον-  
τικὸς ἐν τῷ Περί ἡδονῆς, ὡς ἀπήλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τὴν  
γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡδονῆς βίον προείλετο, ὥκει τε μετ'  
Ἀσπασίας τῆς ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐταίρας καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς  
οὐσίας εἰς ταύτην κατανάλωσε.

5

*Cf. Ael. Var. hist. 4.23*

4 μέρος *om. E*

**44** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.77 552F (BT t.3, p.219.15–19 Kaibel)

<sup>61</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περί ἡδονῆς Δεινίαν  
φησὶ τὸν μυροπώλην διὰ τρυφὴν εἰς ἔρωτας ἐμπεσόντα καὶ



secondary to pleasure, and when they had spent everything ended their lives together by drinking hemlock?”

<sup>1</sup> The Persians invaded Euboea for the first time, in 490, see Hdt. 6.101. However, the Persians did not invade Euboea for a second time, cp. *RE* VIII 2, 1908. This part of the story is pure fabrication: E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, Halle 1892 (repr. Hildesheim 1966), 2 vols., II 30 (with n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> For the genealogy of this family, see *PA* 7826: Phainippus had a son Callias I (Davies *APF* 7826, II, p.255). Callias I's son was Hipponicus I (Davies *ibid.* II, p.255), born after 564, with the byname Ammon (Davies *ibid.* IV, p.257–8; Traill *PAA* v. 9: 538905). Hipponicus I Ammon became the father of Callias II, born after 520 (Davies *ibid.* III (A), p. 256; V–VII, p.258–61) with the byname Λακκόπλουτος (Davies *ibid.* VII (C), p.260) who married Epinice, sister of Cimon (Davies *ibid.* V, VI, p.258–9). The son of Callias II Λακκόπλουτος and Epinice was Hipponicus II (Davies *ibid.* VII, VIII (p. 260–1; Traill *PAA* v. 9: 538910) who married Pericles' first wife (Davies *APF* 7826, IX, p.262). Their son was Callias III (born *ca.* 450: Davies *ibid.* IX, p.263); he might not have been “quite as penniless as Herakleides' irresponsible embroidery implied” (Davies *ibid.* VIII, p.261). Through his daughter Hipparete, Hipponicus II became father-in-law of Alcibiades.

- 43** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.45 533C (*BT* v.3, p.176. 9–14 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Pleasure* that Pericles the Olympian<sup>1</sup> dismissed his wife<sup>2</sup> from his house and preferred the life of pleasure. He lived with Aspasia the hetaira from Megara<sup>3</sup> and spent the better part of his property on her.

<sup>1</sup> Olympian, nickname of Pericles: Plut. *Per.* 8.3; Diodorus 12.40.5; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13. 589D; Schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235E.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Pericles' wife is unknown: Plut. *Per.* 24, 8; Miltner *RE* XIX 749. She was married again, to Hipponicus II, the son of Callias II Λακκόπλουτος (Davies *APF* 7826, IX, p. 262), see n. 2 to **42**.

<sup>3</sup> All other sources (Plut. *Per.* 24.2; Schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235E) state that Aspasia came from Miletus. *Suda* A 4202 (under “Aristophanes”) establishes a connection with Megara: on account of Aspasia, Pericles in anger wrote the decree which excluded the Megarians from Athens.

- 44** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.77 552F (*BT* v.3, p.219. 15–19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says that Deinias the perfume seller fell into love affairs because of his



πολλὰ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντα, ὥς ἔξω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐγένετο,  
 ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκταραχθέντα ἐκτεμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ταῦτα  
 πάντα ποιούσης τῆς ἀκολάστου τρυφῆς.

5

1 *De Dinia Aegyptio unguentario vid. Strattis PCG (t.7) fr. 34.3–4*

2 ἔρωτας Wilamowitz: ἔρωτα AE      4 ἐκτεμεῖν Kaibel: ἐκτέμνειν A: cor-  
 rexit E (ἐξέτεμεν)

**45** Plutarchus, Pericles 27.3–4 (BT t.1, fasc. 2, p.31.28–32.15  
 Ziegler-Gärtner)

<sup>60</sup> W Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς χρήσασθαι τὸν Περικλέα τὴν  
 καινότητα θαυμασταῖς, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρ<α-  
 σχ>όντος, ὃν χολὸν ὄντα καὶ φορεῖω πρὸς τὰ κατεπεύγον-  
 τα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆναι Περιφόρη-  
 4 τον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐλέγχει τοῖς 5  
 Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων  
 ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμον  
 πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων. τὸν δ' Ἀρτέμονά  
 φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν  
 ὄντα καὶ καταπλήγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι καθέζεσθαι, χαλ- 10  
 κὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δυεῖν οἰκετῶν ὑπερεχόν-  
 των, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἄνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθεῖη προ-  
 ελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφε-  
 ρόμενον κομίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

1 Ephorus FGrH 70 F 194      2 Artemon: Diod. 12.28.3      6 Anacreon  
 PMG 372      ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων vid. Chamael. SdA (t.9) fr. 36 = fr.  
 36 Giordano; Diphilus Com. (PCG t.5, p.69) fr. 35; Append. prov. (CPG t.2,  
 p.441) 4.32; schol. Ar. Ach. 850a Wilson

1 μηχαναῖς <φησι> Ziegler      2–3 παρ<ασχ>όντος Ziegler: παρόντος  
 codd.: πορίζοντος Coraes: παρ<ασκευάζο>ντος Schütrumpf, coll. Diod.  
 12.28.3 κατασκευάσαντος      13–14 περιφερόμενον Aldina Iuntina:  
 παραφερόμενον codd.



indulgence in luxury, and spent lots of money, and when he had gotten over his desires, he was thrown into turmoil by his grief and cut off his genitals: all these things are the product of unbri-  
dled indulgence in luxury.

- 45 Plutarch, *Pericles* 27.3–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.2, p.31.28–32.15 Ziegler-Gärtner)

Ephorus says that Pericles even used siege engines, marvelous in their novelty, provided by the engineer Artemon, who, because he was lame and was carried on a litter to his urgent  
4 projects, was called Periphoretus, “Carried Around.”<sup>1</sup> However, Heraclides Ponticus<sup>2</sup> refutes this by means of Anacreon’s<sup>3</sup> poems, in which ‘Artemon Periphoretus’<sup>4</sup> is named many generations before the war at Samos<sup>5</sup> and these affairs. And he says that Artemon was the effeminate sort in his lifestyle, and soft and nervous regarding his fears, and that he sat at home most of the time, while two servants held a bronze shield above his head so that nothing from above would fall on him, and, if he was forced to leave the house, he would be taken in a hammock, carried around just over the ground, and for this reason he was called Periphoretus.

<sup>1</sup> “Carried Around”, περιφόρητος — probably in the sense of “notorious”: LSJ s.v. (II).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch does not indicate to which of Heraclides’ writings the statement belongs; the trait of living in effeminate luxury was dealt with in *On Pleasure*. See 39.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. C.G. Brown, “From Rags to Riches: Anacreon’s Artemon,” *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 1–15.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Artemon Periphoretus’ had become proverbial (cp. Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 850). Ar. *Ach.* 849–50 echoed the proverb when denigrating the comic poet Cratinus (cp. *PCG* vol. 4, Test. 12), replacing “carried” (φορητός, *phoretos*) with “bad” (πονηρός, *poneros*, Anacreon 388.5 *PMG*) to coin a *hapax legomenon* περιπόνηρος (*periponeros*).

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the war at Samos in 440 B.C., see D.M. Lewis, *CAH* V (1992), 143–4.



**118 Heraclides of Pontus**

De Anima (**46–58**)

De mente] **17** (14)  
De anima] **17** (15)  
seorsum De anima] **17** (16)

**46A** Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.49.1 (t.1, p.320.1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

98a W Ἡρακλείδης φωτοειδὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ὥρισατο.

= DG p.388 b9–10 Diels

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1 Ἡρακλείδ add. P mg.: Ἡράκλειτος codd.

**46B** Macrobius, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis 1.14.19 (BT p.59.3–4 Willis)

98b W Heraclides Ponticus (dixit animam) lucem.

Vid. DG p.213–14 Diels

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1 Heraclides Zeunius: Heraclitus codd., cf. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.603 (iv)

**46C** Tertullianus, De anima 9.5 (p.11.24–9 Waszink)

98c W si enim corpus anima ... proinde et coloris proprietas omni corpori aderit. Quem igitur alium animae aestimabis colorem quam aerium ac lucidum? Non, ut aer sit substantia eius, etsi hoc Aenesidemo visum est et Anaximeni, puto secundum quosdam et Heraclito, nec ut lumen, etsi hoc placuit Heraclidi.

5

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4 Anaximenes: B 2 (t.1, p.95) DK      5 Heraclitus: Sext. Empir. Adv. mathem. 9.360 κατ' ἐνίους Ἡράκλειτος ἀέρα (ἔλεξε πάντων εἶναι ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον)



## Psychology (46–58)

*On Mind*] 17 (14)

*On Soul*] 17 (15)

*On Soul* in a separate treatise] 17 (16)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Heraclides' view on the soul, cp. Gottschalk pp. 102–8; I. Kupreeva, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 5.

### 46A Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.49.1 (v.1, p.320.1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides defined the soul as light-like.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the doxographical tradition from which Stobaeus drew his material the context of this short text was the question, “whether the soul is a body and what is its essence.” (Ps.-Plut., *Opinions of the Philosophers* 4.3 [p. 116 Mau]). Philosophers listed in the previous section believed that the soul was incorporeal, those who follow held that it was corporeal. The doxographical tradition included Heraclides Ponticus among the latter.

### 46B Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.14.19 (*BT* p.59.3–4 Willis)

Heraclides Ponticus (said that the soul is) light.

### 46C Tertullian, *On the Soul* 9.5 (p.11.24–9 Waszink)

But if the soul is a body, without doubt, ... accordingly also a character of color will pertain to each body. What color, then, will you believe belongs to the soul other than the color of air and light? Not if<sup>1</sup> air is the substance of the soul, even if Aenesidemus<sup>2</sup> and Anaximenes held this view, and I believe according to some also Heraclitus, nor if light (is its substance), even if Heraclides Ponticus held this view.

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian makes assumptions regarding the color of the soul given the



## 120 Heraclides of Pontus

3 ut aer : uter A

**46D** Theodoretus, Graecarum affectionum curatio 5.18 (BT p.127.8–9 Raeder)

98d W Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Ἴππασος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος πυρώδη ταύτην (scil. τὴν ψυχὴν) κεκλήκασιν· ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης φωτοειδῆ.

2 Ἡράκλειτος KBL; vid. Marcovich, *Heraclitus* 2001, Appendix: *Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum* p.603 (vii).

**47** Ioannes Philoponus, In Aristotelis De anima commentaria, Prooemium (CAG t.15, p.9.5–7 Hayduck)

99 W τῶν δὲ ἀπλοῦν σῶμα εἰρηκότων τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι οἱ μὲν εἰρήκασιν αἰθέριον εἶναι σῶμα, ταῦτόν δέ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οὐράνιον, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

*Cf. DG p. 214 Diels*

**48** Plutarchus, De latenter vivendo 6 1130B (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.221.18–222.2 Pohlenz-Westman)

100 W αὐτὴν τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων φῶς εἶναι τῇ οὐσίᾳ νομίζουσιν, ἄλλοις τε χρώμενοι τεκμηρίοις καὶ ὅτι τῶν ὄντων μάλιστα τὴν μὲν ἄγνοιαν ἢ ψυχὴ δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀφεγγὲς ἐχθαίρει καὶ ταράττεται <πρὸς> τὰ σκοτεινά, φόβου καὶ ὑποψίας ὄντα πλήρη πρὸς αὐτήν. ἡδὺ δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποθεινὸν οὕτω τὸ φῶς ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδ' ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν φύσει τερπνῶν ἄνευ φωτός ὑπὸ σκότους χαίρειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν διατριβὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, ὥσπερ τι κοινὸν ἡδυσμα καταμιγνύμενον, ἰλαρὰν ποιεῖ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

10

4 ἐχθαίρει Wyttenbach: ἐξαιρεῖ codd. πρὸς add. Reiske: διὰ add. Bignone 6 τὸ om. U<sup>1</sup>Hgc μὴ δι' ἄλλω τινὶ y: μηδὲ ἄλλο τι O



different hypotheses which were formulated about its substance.

<sup>2</sup> Aenesidemus was the founder of the Neopyrrhonic school of scepticism, probably in the first century B.C., see *DPhA* 3 E 24.

- 46D** Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 5.18 (*BT* p.127.8–9 Raeder)

Parmenides and Hippasus and Heraclitus have called this (the soul) fire-like, but Heraclides (called it) light-like.

- 47** John Philoponus, *Commentary on Aristotle's On Soul I*, Prologue (*CAG* v.15 p.9.5–7 Hayduck)

Of those who have stated that the soul is a simple body, some have said it is an airy body, which is the same as to say a heavenly body, for example, as Heraclides Ponticus (did).

- 48** Plutarch, *Whether "Live Unknown" is a wise Maxim* 6 1130B (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.221.18–222.2 Pohlenz-Westman)

Some of the philosophers<sup>1</sup> believe the soul itself is light in its substance, appealing among other indications to the phenomenon that the soul finds ignorance the most intolerable of all things and hates everything without light and gets troubled at the things (that are) dark, these being full of fear and suspicion for it (the soul), whereas light is so pleasant and desirable to it (the soul) that without light in the darkness it rejoices in no other of the things pleasant by nature, but light, as if it were some universal sweetener when mixed in, makes every pleasure and every pastime and enjoyment cheerful and beneficial to mankind.

<sup>1</sup> Heraclides is not mentioned by name, but this summary most likely reproduces arguments from his work *On Soul*. See Wehrli p. 93.



49 Plutarchus, Camillus 22.2–4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.221.15–27 Ziegler)

102 W τοῦ μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ (sc. τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἀλῖα ποταμῷ μάχης) καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως (scil. Ῥώμης) ἔοικεν ἀμυδρά τις  
 3 εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ ὁ Ποντικός, οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος, ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συντάγματι φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας λόγον 5 κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ἡρώκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που συνωκημένην περὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ πλάσματιαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην 10 θάλασσαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς . . .

1–2 *Vid. ibid. 18.6–19.1; Diod. 14.114–15; Liv. 5.38–9; 41–3* 3–4 *Heraclides non multum a temporibus proelii ad Alliam commissi (i.e. anno 388 ante Chr.) afuit, i.e. paulo post natus est. De voce ἀπολείπεσθαι vid. Voss p.8 11–12 Arist. fr. 610 R<sup>3</sup>*

5 συγγράμματι *S<sup>m</sup>Y* 7 συνωκημένην: κατωκημένην *Y*: κατωκειμένην *S<sup>m</sup>*

50 Iamblichus, De anima 26 378 (p.54.1, 4–11 Finamore-Dillon)

97 W ἄλλη τοίνυν αἵρεσις τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ... τιθεμένη ... τὴν ψυχὴν αἰεὶ εἶναι ἐν σώματι, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ καὶ ἄλλων, ἀπὸ σωμάτων αὐτὴν λεπτοτέρων εἰς τὰ ὀστρεώδη πάλιν εἰσοικίζει σώματα. 5 διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μοῖραν τινα τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, καθ' ἣκειν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ στερεὸν σῶμα ἄλλοτε ἀπ' ἄλλων τοῦ παντὸς τόπων. καὶ τούτους Ἡρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Ποντικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν, ἄλλους δὲ καθ' ὅλας τοῦ οὐ-



- 49 Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.2–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.221.15–27 Ziegler)

3 However, it seems that some faint rumor of the calamity there (of the battle at the river Allia) and of the capture (of Rome) reached Greece immediately. For Heraclides Ponticus, who lived not much later<sup>1</sup> than these times, says in his work *On Soul* that out of the west a story prevailed that an army from the Hyperboreans had come from outside and had taken the Greek city Rome,<sup>2</sup> settled somewhere there on the shores of the Great Sea. Now I would not be surprised if Heraclides, being a fabulist and inclined to fiction, had inflated a true story about the capture of the city by adding the Hyperboreans and the Great Sea. But it  
4 is clear that Aristotle<sup>3</sup> the philosopher had heard accurately that the city was captured by the Gauls, *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> “lived not much later than these times” (οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος), cp. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.18 573b15f.: most sows live roughly 15 years, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν εἴκοσιν ὀλίγον ἀπολείπουσιν, *i.e.*, some fail only by a few years to reach the age of twenty. F. Sussehl, *BPhW* 18. Jahrg., No. 9, pp. 257–8, assumed that Plutarch’s expression could as well be understood as meaning that Heraclides was born a few years *earlier*. He adds, however, that Plutarch did not know the year of Heraclides’ birth any more than we do.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the battle at the river Allia in which the Romans fought against the invading Celts and to the capture of Rome in 387 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle fr. 610 R<sup>3</sup>.

- 50 Iamblichus, *On the Soul* 26 378 (p.54.1, 4–11 Finamore-Dillon)

Now another school of the Platonists ... positing that the soul is always in a body, such as the school of Eratosthenes<sup>1</sup> and of Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> the Platonist and of others, has it migrate out of lighter bodies back into hard shelled bodies. For it supposedly resides in a certain portion of the perceptible realm, and it arrives back into a solid body at various times from various regions of the universe. Heraclides Ponticus marked off these regions around the Milky Way,<sup>3</sup> others (marked them off) across entire spheres



## 124 Heraclides of Pontus

ορανοῦ τὰς σφαίρας, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ δεῦρο κατιέναι τὰς ψυχάς·

1 τιθεμένην *FP: corr. Heeren*

4 λεπτομερῶν *Meineke*

### 51 Varro, *Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*, fr. 81 (t.1, p.134 Krenkel)

<sup>101</sup> W quare Heraclides Ponticos plus sapit, qui praecepit ut comburerent, quam Democritus, qui ut in melle servarent; quem si vulgus secutus esset, peream si centum denariis calicem mulsi emere possemus.

*ex Nonio 3 (t.1, p.342.29-33) Lindsay*

1 Ponticos *Bentinus (ed. Aldina Nonii 1526) Mercerus: pontificos codd.* 1–2 comburerent *ed. princ. 1511: combureret codd.* 4 possemus *Buecheler: possumus codd.*

### 52 Ioannes Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium* (CAG t.14, pars 1, p.117.9–12 Hayduck)

<sup>96</sup> W ὁ Δαμάσκιος τὴν Ἐμπεδοτίμου περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος (scil. ὑπόθεσιν) οἰκειοῦται, ἔργον αὐτὴν οὐ μῦθον καλῶν. φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁδὸν εἶναι ψυχῶν τὸ γάλα τῶν τὸν Ἄϊδην τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ διαπορευομένων.

*Comment. in Arist. Meteor. A 8 346a31* 3–4 ὁδὸν – διαπορευομένων *iteratum oratione recta p.117.31–2 Hayduck; de via lactea ab animis usitata,*



of the sky, from which, then, the souls come down here.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes of Cyrene, lived *ca.* 275–195 B.C. He was a student of Callimachus and became his successor as the head of the Alexandrian library. *Suda* (E 2898, vol.2, p. 403 Adler) reports that some called him a “second Plato.” As a scholar he wrote on literary criticism, philosophy, and mathematics. Important are his contributions to geography, see F. Solmsen, “Eratosthenes as Platonist and Poet,” *TAPA* 73, 1942, 192–213 (for Eratosthenes’ views on the soul, see pp. 201–5), see *DPhA* 3 E 52.

<sup>2</sup> For Ptolemy the Platonist, cp. A. Dihle, “Der Platoniker Ptolemaios,” *Hermes* 85 (1957), 314–25.

<sup>3</sup> For the Milky Way as the resting place of men who are released from their bodies, cp. Cicero, *Rep.* 6.16.1; Manilius, *Astronom.* 1.758–61; Porphyrius, *Antr.* 28; Numenius in: Proclus, *In Plat. Rep.* II p. 128–9 Kroll (cp. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. 2, p. 527 with n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Gottschalk pp. 100–2.

**51** Varro, *Fragments of Menippean Satires* fr. 81 (v.1, p.134 Krenkel)

For this reason Heraclides Ponticus, who taught that they should cremate (the dead), is wiser than Democritus, who taught that they should preserve them in honey. If the masses had followed him, may I perish if we could buy a cup of honey wine for a hundred denarii.

**52** John Philoponus, *Commentary on the First Book of Aristotle’s Meteorology* (CAG v.14, part 1, p.117.9–12 Hayduck)

Damascius<sup>1</sup> appropriates the hypothesis of Empedotimus<sup>2</sup> concerning the Milky Way, calling it a fact and not a myth. For he says that the Milky Way is the path of souls that travel through the Underworld in the sky.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Damascius (see **58**), a Neoplatonic philosopher, was the last head of the Academy in Athens before it was closed by Justinian in 529 A.D., *DPhA* 2 D 3.



*vid. Arist. Meteor. 1.8 345a14–6*

2 ἔργον *Lobeck*: ἄργον *codd.* αὐτὴν *Hayduck*: αὐτὸν *codd.* 3 τὸν  
Ἄϊδην *Lobeck*: ἐν ἅδῃ *codd.*

**53** Suda E 1007 s.v. Ἐμπεδότιμος (LG t.2, p.259.16–20 Adler)

<sup>92</sup> W Ἐμπεδότιμος· οὗτος ἔγραψε περὶ φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, περὶ οὗ λέγει ὁ Παραβάτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Κρονίοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐμπεδοτίμῳ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ πιστεύοντες οἷς τε ἐκείθεν λαβὼν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐφη.

= Suda I 437 s.v. Ἰουλιανός (t.2, p.643.4–6) Adler 3sq. *Iulian. Poemata et fragm. 161 (t.1.2) Bidez*

2 ἀπογραφομένοις *GIT*

**54A** Proclus, In Platonis Rem publicam commentarii (BT t.2, p.119.18–27 Kroll)

<sup>93</sup> W οὔτε τὸ θείας ἀλ<ηθεία>ς τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου πραγμάτων καὶ ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδότιμον λόγος, ὃν Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρησεν ὁ Ποντικός, θηρῶντα μετ' ἄλλων ἐν μεσημβρία σταθερᾷ κατὰ τινὰ χώρον αὐτὸν ἔρημον ἀπο-  
λειφθέντα λέγων τῆς τε τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐπιφανείας τυχόντα 5  
καὶ τῆς Περσεφόνης καταλαμφθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ περιθέοντος κύκλῳ τοὺς θεούς, ἰδεῖν δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ ψυχῶν ἀλήθειαν ἐν αὐτόπτοις θεάμασιν.

*Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen, t.2 (1959), p.524–7*

1 ἀλ<ηθεία>ς *supplevit Kroll (cf. schedas A. Maii), incertus an αὐτοψίας scribendum sit: ὑποψίας Morus*



<sup>2</sup> Empedotimus, the Syracusan, is most likely a fictitious figure, invented by Heraclides Ponticus as an interlocutor in some of his dialogues: Rohde 2, 94 n. 1 (p. 95); Daebritz *RE* VIII 1, 477; Wehrli p. 91; *DPhA* 3 E 22. Hence, texts that mention Empedotimus have been included among the fragments of Heraclides. See Kupreeva, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is discussed in its larger context by Gottschalk, Append. pp. 149–54.

- 53** *Suda* E (Epsilon) 1007 under “Empedotimus” (*LG* v.2, p.259. 16–20 Adler)

Empedotimus: he wrote about physics,<sup>1</sup> and about him Julian the Apostate [*Parabates*] in the work entitled *Cronia* says:<sup>2</sup> We trust in Empedotimus and Pythagoras and what Heraclides Ponticus said, taking it from them.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: “lecture on physics” (φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις), cp. the title 148 of Aristotle’s works in the list of Hesychius in Rose<sup>3</sup> p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Julian’s work is titled Συμπόσιον ἢ Κρόνια *sive* *Caesares*. It is called *Cronia* (a festival for Cronus), because Julian opens it with: “Since the god permits (us) to play (for it is *Cronia*) ...”

- 54A** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* (*BT* v.2, p.119.18–27 Kroll)

Nor is it impossible that a human soul gained the divine truth of the situation in the Underworld and reported it to humans. This is also shown by the account according to Empedotimus, which Heraclides Ponticus narrated. Heraclides says that while Empedotimus was hunting in some place with other people at high noon, he himself was left alone, and after encountering the epiphany of Pluto and of Persephone the light that runs in a circle around the gods shone down upon him, and through it he saw in visions that he personally experienced the whole truth about souls.



**54B** Michael Psellus, *Orationes* 24 (BT p.89.93–6 Littlewood)

καὶ τὸν Ποιμάνδρην τούτου (οὕτω γὰρ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον ἐπέγραφεν) ὡς ὄνειρώπτοντα διαπτύετε, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐμπεδοτίμου τοῦ νοῦ ἀρπαγὴν, ἣν ἐξαίρει μὲν ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος, Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ἀθετεῖ ὁ φιλόσοφος.

*4 hic locus deest in collectionibus fragmentorum Posidonii editis a Theiler et Edelstein-Kidd*

2 ἐπέγραφεν: ἐπέγραψεν vel ἐπιγέγραφεν *coni. Boissonade*

**54C** Michael Psellus, *Orationes* 1 (BT p.34.892–9 Dennis)

εἰ δὲ πᾶσαν ὄρασιν ἀδιαφόρως δέχη, τί μὴ καὶ τοῦ Τρισμεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ, ἣν ὁ Ποιμάνδρης — δαίμων δὲ οὗτος — τούτῳ παρέδειξε; κἀκεῖνα γὰρ φοβερά καὶ παράδοξα τὰ ὁράματα, ἀχλὺς καὶ ζόφος βαθὺς καὶ φῶς ἐκφαινόμενον καὶ πατήρ καὶ υἱὸς δεικνύμενοι καὶ θεο- 5 λογούμενοι. τί μὴ καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοτίμου μετεωρισμόν, ὃν ἕτερος δαίμων τούτῳ πεφιλοτίμηται, δι' οὗ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν μυεῖται ἀθανασίαν;

**55** Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.21 133.2 (t.1, p.82.23–8 Stählin-Früchtel)

<sup>90</sup> W προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανείχεν αἰεὶ Ἄβαρις τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρειος καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος Ἐπιμενίδης τε ὁ Κρής, ὅστις εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μήδος Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος καὶ Φορμίων ὁ Λάκων, ναὶ μὴν Πολυάρατος ὁ Θάσιος 5 Ἐμπεδοτίμος τε ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐπὶ τε τούτοις Σωκράτης ὁ



**54B** Michael Psellus, *Oration* 24 (*BT* p.89.93–6 Littlewood)

And you will spit out his Poimander (for this is how he inscribed his own treatise) as a dreamer, as well as the capture of Empedotimus' mind, which Iamblichus exalts, while Posidonius the philosopher athetises.

**54C** Michael Psellus, *Oration* 1 (*BT* p.34.892–9 Dennis)

And if you accept any vision, indiscriminately, then why not also the one of Hermes Trismegistus, which Poimander (who is a demon) handed over to him; for those are also frightful and wondrous sights, what with the mist and deep darkness, and the light shining out, and father and son showing forth, discussing divine issues. Why not also Empedotimus' rise,<sup>1</sup> which another demon has lavished on him, through which he is initiated into the immortality of the souls?

<sup>1</sup> For the rising of Empedotimus, cp. the account about Aristeas who is often referred to together with Empedotimus (see **55**): the soul left his body and wandered in the air, seeing everything to be seen beneath, fr. 20 (Bolton).

**55** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 133.2 (v.1, p.82.23–8 Stählin-Früchtel)

Also the great Pythagoras devoted himself unceasingly to foreknowledge, as did the Hyperborean Abaris and the Proconnesian Aristeas<sup>1</sup> and the Cretan Epimenides,<sup>2</sup> who arrived at Sparta, and the Mede Zoroaster and the Acragantinian Empedocles<sup>3</sup> and the Spartan Phormion<sup>4</sup> and, yes indeed, Polyaratus of Thasos and the Syracusan Empedotimus<sup>5</sup> and in addition to these, espe-



Ἀθηναῖος μάλιστα.

2 *De Abaride*, vid. **24B** T v.6                      *Aristeas Proconnesius* fr. 21 Bolton    3  
*Epimenides*: no. 3 (t.1, p.27–37) DK            4 Zoroastres, vid. **17** (56)

2 Ἀριστέας *Potter*: ἀρισταίας *L*

**56** Proclus, *In Platonis Rem publicam commentarii* (BT t.2, p.121.24–122.11 Kroll)

91 W    καὶ εἰσὶν καὶ ἔσονται πολλαχοῦ γῆς τῶν θείων καὶ ταῖς  
αἰσθήσεσιν ἡμῶν ἀλήπτων ἐξηγηταὶ κατὰ τινὰς θείας τε καὶ  
δαιμονίας ἐπιπνοίας· οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος τῶν τοιούτων  
ἱστορες, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδότιμον λόγος, οἱ δὲ ἄνευ σώματος,  
ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Κλεώνυμον· καὶ πλήρεις αἱ παρα- 5  
δόσεις τούτων. εἰ δὲ <μὴ πλείο>νές εἰσιν αὐτοπτικαὶ τῶν  
ὄντων ἡμῖν καταλήψεις, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· <σώμα>σι γὰρ  
χρώμενοι καὶ τούτοις ἐνύλο<ις ὀλίγοι> καὶ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
τούτων ἀπολαύειν ἄνθρωποι δύνανται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
ὁ Ἐμπεδότιμος σπάνιος καὶ ὁ Κλεώνυμος καὶ εἰ δὴ τις 10  
ἄλλος τῶν τοιούτων θεαμάτων λέγεται τυχεῖν. τὸ γὰρ τὴν  
ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνεργεῖν ὀλίγοις δὴ τισι  
καὶ εὐαριθμήτοις ὑπάρχειν εἰκός.

5 *De Cleonymo* vid. *Clearch. SdA* (t.3) fr. 8

1 καὶ εἰσὶν *add. m*<sup>3</sup>            6 <μὴ πλείο>νές *add. Kroll*            7 <ἐν> *ante* ἡμῖν  
*propos. Kroll*    <σώμα>σι *supplevit Kroll*            8 ἐνύλο<ις ὀλίγοι> *supplevit*  
*Kroll*



cially the Athenian Socrates.

<sup>1</sup> The Proconnesian Aristeas (cp. Pind. fr. 271 Snell-Maehler; Hdt. 4.14–5) was a mythical figure; as servant of Apollo, he accompanied Apollo in the form of a raven. The texts associated with him are collected by Bolton (1962).

<sup>2</sup> Epimenides was a religious figure and became the topic of many legends. According to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 1, he purified Athens after the slaughter of the accomplices of Cylon (second half 7th century B.C.), whereas according to Plato, *Laws* 1 642D, he visited Athens around 500 B.C. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 457. For Epimenides predicting the future, see Diog. Laert. 1.114 (= *FGrH* 457 T 1). He moved to Sparta: *FGrH* 457 T 5f.

<sup>3</sup> For Empedocles of Acragas (Sicily), a Presocratic philosopher of the 5th century B.C., see **63A, B; 82; 83; 87**; *DPhA* 3 E 19.

<sup>4</sup> According to Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 392, Phormion was a citizen of Croton. Obeying an oracle, he came to Sparta.

<sup>5</sup> See **52** n. 2.

**56** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* (*BT* v.2, p.121.24–122.11 Kroll)

There are and there shall be in many places on the earth interpreters of divine things imperceptible to our senses, as a gift of certain divine and spiritual inspirations. Some have knowledge of these sorts of things with their body, such as, the story says, Empedotimus, and others without the body, such as the Athenian Cleonymus. And the traditions are full of these (stories). But it is no wonder that in actual experience we do not have more personal perceptions of the things that are. For because we use bodies, and these are material, few and far between are the humans capable of enjoying these (perceptions), and for this reason Empedotimus is exceptional, and so is Cleonymus, and anyone else who is said to have encountered these sorts of visions. For it makes sense that the ability to carry on a human life at a level beyond a human being belongs to few people indeed, who can be easily counted.



**57** Varro, Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta, fr. 560 (t.3, p.1126–7 Krenkel)

<sup>94</sup> W Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotimo cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas vidisse tresque vias: unam ad signum scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur; alteram per limitem, qui est inter leonem et cancrum; tertiam esse inter 5  
aquarium et pisces.

*ex Servii Commentario in Vergili Georgica 1.34 (p.141.13–19 Thilo)*

1 Empedotimo Thilo: empedotim L      2 post eumque <in caelo> excidisse suspicatur Thilo

**58** Damascius, In Platonis Phaedonem commentaria D 131 (t.2, p.357–9 Westerink)

<sup>95</sup> W ὅτι τριπτὴ τῆς γῆς ἡ διαίρεσις. ἡ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς Κρονίδας· ξυνὴ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός. φησὶν Ὅμηρος, εἰ δὲ κοινὴ, δῆλον ὅτι μερίζοιτο ἂν εἰς αὐτούς. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἦν ὁ λέγων καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν διαιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ Ζεὺς, πάντως ἂν εἰς τρία διένειμεν τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ὁ Ἐμπεδοτίμου λόγος, ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀπλανή, 5  
τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὰς μέχρι ἡλίου σφαίρας, τῷ Πλούτωνι τὰς λοιπάς. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ διαίρεσις τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ πᾶν, εἰς τὸ οὐράνιον καὶ χθόνιον καὶ μέσον· καὶ γὰρ Ὀλυμπία Γῆ τε- 10  
τίμηται καὶ χθονία, καὶ μέση ἄρα τις ἂν εἴη.

*2–3 Homerus dicit: Il. 15.193*

8 ἢ Finckh: εἰ M      9 εἰ fort. ante Ὀλυμπία addend. Schütrumpf

### De Natura (**59–64**)

De natura] **17** (17)

Res, de quibus secundum physicam scientiam ambigitur] **17** (18)



- 57** Varro, *Fragments of Menippean Satires* fr. 560 (v.3, p.1126–1127 Krenkel)

Varro nevertheless said that he had read that the mortal vision had been wiped away from a certain Syracusan Empedotimus by the agency of a certain divine power, and that he had seen among other things three doors and three paths, one at the sign of the scorpion (*Scorpio*), by which Heracles is said to have gone to the gods, the second along the boundary that is between the lion (*Leo*) and the crab (*Cancer*), and that the third is between the water bearer (*Aquarius*) and the fishes (*Pisces*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this fragment, cp. Wehrli pp. 91–2; Gottschalk pp. 99–100.

- 58** Damascius, *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* D 131 (v.2 p.357–9 Westerink)

That the division of the earth is threefold. One (is a division) according to the three sons of Cronus: for the earth and the sky are common to them, Homer says. But if it is common, it is clear that it could be divided among them; and if Poseidon were not the speaker and were not marking off his own realm, but Zeus (were), to be sure he would have apportioned the sky into three parts, as the account of Empedotimus says: for himself the fixed sphere, for Poseidon the (outer) spheres up to the sun, and for Pluto the rest. The (second) is a division of the earth as a whole, into the heavenly and the chthonic and the intermediate: for both an Olympian Ge (“Earth”) is honored and a chthonic one, and so there would seem to be an intermediate (Ge) as well.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The third is a division on the analogy of a living being, *i.e.*, with head, middle and feet.

### Nature (59–64)

*On Nature*] **17** (17)

*On Problems in Natural Philosophy*] **17** (18)



134 Heraclides of Pontus

De Heraclide Pontico a Platone in physicis differente vid. **79**, et de Timaeo Tauromenitano Heraclidem Ponticum maledicente, quod finxerit hominem de luna cecidisse, vid. **94**

**59** Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica 14.23.4 (t.8, pars 2, p.325.4–8 Mras-des Places)

118 W οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους μετονομάσαντες ἀμερῇ φασιν εἶναι σώματα, τοῦ παντὸς μέρη, ἐξ ὧν ἀδιαιρέτων ὄντων συντίθεται τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύεται. καὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ἀμερῶν ὀνοματοποιὸν Διόδωρον γεγονέναι, ὄνομα δέ, φασίν, αὐτοῖς ἄλλο Ἡρακλείδης θέμενος ἐκάλεσεν ὄγκους, παρ' οὗ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐκληρονόμησε τὸ ὄνομα. 5

6 Asclepiades Bithyn. cf. Sext. Empir. Adv. phys. 1.363 (t.2, p.287 Mutschmann = Adv. dogm. 3.36); Ps.-Gal. Introductio seu medicus, t.14, p.698 Kühn κατὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδην στοιχεῖα ἀνθρώπου ὄγκοι θραυστοὶ καὶ πόροι

3 ἀμερῶν *I<sup>b</sup>*: μερῶν *ON*

**60A** Ps.-Galenus, De historia philosophica 18 (DG p.610.20–611.1 Diels)

119a W Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς πάντων νομίζουσιν, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθενται τῶν ὅλων, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος τὰς ὁμοιομερείας κτλ.

1 Democritus, Epicurus, vid. Dionysium Alexandr. De natura 1 (Reliquiae Sacrae t.4, p.394 Routh) Democritus vid. 68 B 9 (t.2, p.139.11) DK; A 1 (t.1, p.84.10) DK; 56 (p. 98.27) DK Epicur. fr. 267–70 Us. 2 Asclepiades vid. T ad **59** v.6 4 Anaxagoras 59 A 43 (t.2, p.17.19) DK; A 45 (p.18.2; 5) DK

1 ἀρχὰς εἶναι *BN* 2 post καὶ add. ὁ *A* 3 ἀνάρμους: ἀνόρμους *AB*, vid. Gottschalk p.38 adn. 3 ὄγκους: ὄρους *B* 4 ὅλων *Diels*: ὄρων *A*: ὠρών *B*



On Heraclides Ponticus disagreeing with Plato on matters of physics, see **79**, and on the hostile judgment of Timaeus of Tauromenium concerning Heraclides Ponticus, because he contrived to have a man fall down from the moon, see **94**.

- 59** Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels* 14.23.4 (v.8, part 2, p.325.4–8 Mras-des Places)

Those who changed the names of atoms say that they are bodies without parts that are parts of the whole, the indivisible elements from which all things are put together and into which all things are dissolved. And they say that the man who named these bodies without parts was Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> and they say that Heraclides gave another name to them and called them particles, and from him Asclepiades<sup>2</sup> the physician too inherited the term.

<sup>1</sup> For Diodorus see **60B**: the one called Cronus. He came from Iasos in Caria, taught philosophy in Athens at the end of the 4th century B.C. and moved to Alexandria (Egypt) in the early 3rd century. He was the teacher of Zeno (see **5** n. 5), see *DPhA* 2 D 124.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepiades of Cius (Prusias ad Mare), Bithynia, was a medical writer and practitioner of the second half of the 2nd century B.C., see **60A**; **B**; **61**; **92**, cp. Diels *DG* p. 185–6; Voss p. 65; *DPhA* 1 A 450.

- 60A** Ps.-Galen, *On the History of Philosophy* 18 (*DG* p.610.20–611.1 Diels)

Democritus and Epicurus believe that the atoms are the primary elements of (the) wholes, but Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades the Bithynian propose that particles without joints<sup>1</sup> are the primary elements of all things, and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (proposes) the things with like parts (*homoeomeriaes*) etc.

<sup>1</sup> “Without joints” (cp. **60B**; **61**), in the sense of “seamless,” cp. Gottschalk ch. 3, especially pp. 38–42; Sharples, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 6.



**60B** Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoneia summaria* 3.32 (BT t.1, p.142.21–5 Mutschmann-Mau)

<sup>119b</sup> W Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀτόμους (scil. εἶπε τὰς ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς εἶναι), Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος ὁμοιομερείας, Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Κρόνος ἐλάχιστα καὶ ἀμερῆ σώματα, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους.

5

= *Sext. Emp. Adv. math.* 9.363

1 *Democritus* vid. *T ad* **60A** v.1      *Epicurus* vid. *T ad* **60A** v.1      2 *Anaxagoras* vid. *T ad* **60A** v.4      4 *Asclepiades* vid. *T ad* **59** v.6

**61** Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 10.318 (BT t.2, p.368 [539.30–540.7] Mutschmann)

<sup>120</sup> W ἐξ ἀπείρων δ' ἐδόξασαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων γένεσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν Κλαζομένιον καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρας ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς γεννωμένοις, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἐπίκουρον ἐξ ἀνομοίων τε καὶ ἀπαθῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀτόμων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην ἐξ ἀνομοίων μὲν, παθητῶν δέ, καθάπερ τῶν ἀνάρμων ὄγκων.

5

= *id. Adversus physicos* 2.318; *Hippol. Haer.* 10.7.5–6      2, 3 *Anaxagoras* 59 B 1 (t.2, p.32.11) DK; A 1 (*ibid.* p.16.2)      2, 4 *Democritus* 68 A 1 (t.2, p.84.12) DK; A 37 (*ibid.* p.93.22)      2–3, 5 *Epicurus* fr. 267–70; 282–7 *Us.* 6 *Asclepiades* v. *T ad* **59** v.6

1 ἐδόξασαν: ἐδογματίσαν *Hippol.*      πραγμάτων: πάντων *Hippol.*      3  
post παμπληθεῖς add. *Hippol.* ὧν ἐκ μέρους πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν      5  
ἐκ ante τῶν ἀτόμων add. *Hippol.*      7 μὲν om. *Hippol.*      ἀνάρμων:  
ἀνάρχων P *Hippol.*



- 60B** Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 3.32 (*BT* v.1, p.142.21–5 Mutschmann-Mau)

Democritus and Epicurus (said the first material elements were) atoms, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (said) things with like parts (*homoeomeries*), Diodorus, the one called Cronus,<sup>1</sup> (said) the smallest bodies without parts, Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades<sup>2</sup> the Bithynian (said) particles without joints.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Cronus, see **59** n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepiades, see **59** n. 2.

- 61** Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Mathematicians* 10.318 (*BT* v.2, p.368 [539.30–540.7] Mutschmann)

Anaxagoras of Clazomenae<sup>1</sup> and Democritus and Epicurus, and a multitude of others, believed that the generation of things is from infinite (particles): Anaxagoras on the one hand (believed that things are generated) from things similar to the things generated (from them); but Democritus and Epicurus<sup>1</sup> (believed that things are generated) from dissimilar things, which are incapable of suffering change, that is, the atoms; whereas Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades<sup>1</sup> (believed that things are generated) from dissimilar things, but subject to experiencing change, like the particles without joints.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The formula οἱ περὶ often refers simply or primarily to the person(s) named after the preposition.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Gottschalk pp. 48–56.



## 138 Heraclides of Pontus

**62** Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.14.4 (t.1, p.143.22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

<sup>121</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης θραύσματα (sc. τὰ ἐλάχιστα ὠρίζετο).

= DG p.312b10 Diels cf. Theophr. De sens. 11 DG p.501.18sq. Diels. Eodem modo elementa apud Empedoclem θραύσματα appellata sunt: Ps.-Plut. Placita 1.13 883B (= DG p.312a1–3 Diels); Stob. Anth. 1.14.1 (t.1, p.143.15–17) Wachsmuth-Hense, cf. Asclepiades T ad **59** v.6

**63A** Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 4.9 899F (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.120.6–8 Mau)

<sup>122a</sup> W Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἡρακλείδης παρὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόρων τὰς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεις γίνεσθαι τοῦ οἰκείου τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐκάστη ἀρμόζοντος.

= DG p.397a1–4 Diels

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3 ἐκάστης ΜΠ

**63B** Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.50.22 (t.1, p.475.18–22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

<sup>122b</sup> W Παρμενίδης, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος, Ἡρακλείδης παρὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόρων τὰς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεις γίνεσθαι, τοῦ οἰκείου τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐκάστου ἐκάστη ἐναρμόττοντος.

= DG p.397b1–6 Diels 1 Parmenides vid. 28 A 47 (t.1, p.226.22–4) DK Empedocles vid. 31 A 86 (t.1, p.301.26; 302.17) DK; A 90 (ibid. p.306.30–2); A 92 (ibid. p.307.4–5) Democritus vid. 68 A 135 (t.2, p.120.28; 122.13) DK 2 de Epicuri doctrina sensus videndi v. fr. 317–19 Us., cf. Asclepiad. ap. Sext. Empir. Adv. mathem. III (= Adv. geometr.) 5

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2 παρὰ Ps.-Plut. (**63A**): περὶ L 4 ἐκάστη Meineke ex Ps.-Plut. (**63A**): ἐκάστην L ἀναρμόττοντος L: corr. Diels DG p. 397, cf. Gottschalk p. 53 adn. 52.



- 62** Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.14.4 (v.1, p.143.22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides (defined the smallest things as) fragments.

- 63A** Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 4.9 899F (BT v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.120.6–8 Mau)

Empedocles (and) Heraclides said that individual sense perceptions occur on account of the (differing) symmetries of the pores, with what is peculiar to (each) of the objects of perception being in harmony with each of the symmetries.

- 63B** Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.50.22 (v.1, p.475.18–22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Epicurus (and) Heraclides (said) that individual sense perceptions occur on account of the (differing) symmetries of the pores, with each of the objects of perception being in harmony with each of the symmetries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Gottschalk p. 53.



**64** Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus ad Graecos* 5.66.4 (p. 100.16–101.19; 22–6 Marcovich)

123 W οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
τοῦ Περιπάτου μνησθῆναι. καὶ ὅ γε τῆς αἰρέσεως πατήρ,  
τῶν ὅλων οὐ νοήσας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καλούμενον ‘ὑπατον’  
ψυχὴν εἶναι τοῦ παντός οἶεται· τουτέστι τοῦ κόσμου τὴν  
ψυχὴν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ περιπείρεται ... ὁ δὲ 5  
Ἐρέσιος ἐκεῖνος Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος πῇ  
μὲν οὐρανόν, πῇ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸν θεὸν ὑπονοεῖ. Ἐπικούρου  
μὲν γὰρ μόνου καὶ ἐκὼν ἐκλήσομαι, ὅς οὐδὲ<ν> μέλιν  
οἶεται τῷ θεῷ, διὰ πάντων ἀσεβῶν. τί γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ  
Ποντικός; [οὐκ] ἔσθ’ ὅπῃ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ Δημοκρίτου καὶ αὐτὸς 10  
κατασύρεται εἰδῶλα;

3 ὑπατον *Hom. Il.* 8.22 Ζῆν’ ὑπατον μήστωρ’; *Xenocrat. fr.* 216 *Isnardi Parente*; *Arist. De motu anim.* 4.700a1; *Ps.-Arist. De mundo* 6.397b24–7  
5 (ὁ) – 7 (ὑπονοεῖ) *Theophr. fr.* 252B *FHS&G* 7–9 *Epicur. fr.* 368  
(p.247.19–21) *Us.*, cf. *Clem. Strom.* 1.50.6 φιλοσοφίαν ... τὴν Ἐπικούρειον  
... πρόνοιαν ἀναιροῦσαν 10 *Democritus: deest in DK vol.2*

8 οὐδὲ<ν> *Lowth*: οὐδὲ *P<sup>l</sup>* 10 οὐκ *P<sup>l</sup> m*: *om. Staehlin, del. Wehrli, cf. Gottschalk p.97 adn. 28.*

## De Astronomia (65–78)

De iis, quae sunt in caelo, liber unus] **17** (21)

**65A** Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 15.58.3 (t.8, pars 2, p.419. 14–16 *Mras-des Places*)

104 W Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός καὶ Ἐκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κι-  
νοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μὴν γε μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ τρεπι-  
κῶς, τροχοῦ δίκην στρεφομένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ’ ἀνατο-



- 64** Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 5.66.4 (p.100.16–101.19; 22–6 Marcovich)

Since I have come this far, I think it would not be at all difficult to recall the Peripatetics as well. Indeed the father of the school, because he did not know the father of all things as a whole, thinks that the one who is called “highest” is the soul of everything; that is to say, by taking the soul of the universe (to be a) god he contradicts himself. ... And the well known Eresian, Theophrastus the pupil of Aristotle, suggests in one place that the god is heaven and in another place that he is breath. Epicurus alone I will utterly ignore, and intentionally, since he thinks that the god does not care about anything, impious as he is throughout his work. What about Heraclides Ponticus? Is there any place where also he is not drawn away to the images<sup>1</sup> of Democritus?

<sup>1</sup> See Gottschalk pp. 97–8.

### Astronomy<sup>1</sup> (65–78)

*On the Things in Heaven*, one book] **17** (21)

<sup>1</sup> See Gottschalk ch. 4, pp. 60–87. Some of the fragments presented in this section are treated in their wider context in the papers by Bowen and Todd, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chaps. 8 and 9.

- 65A** Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels* 15.58.3 (v.8, part 2, p.419.14–16 Mras-des Places)

Heraclides Ponticus and Ecphantus the Pythagorean make the earth move, not from one place to another but in revolution, turning like a wheel, from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around



λὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέντρον.

= *Ecphantus* 51 (t.1, p.442) DK. *Reliquias doctrinae Ecphanto adscriptas collegit Voss p.63–4, Ecphantum personam dialogi Heraclidis De natura arbi-trans, at vid. Gottschalk p.44 cum adn. 26*

- 65B** Ps.-Plutarchus, *Placita philosophorum* 3.13 896A (BT t.5, fasc. 2, pars 1, p.108.5–8 Mau)

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἐκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινούσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μὴν γε μεταβατικῶς, <ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς,> τροχοῦ δίκην ἐνηξονισμένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ’ ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέντρον.

= DG 378a10–15 Diels 2–3 ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς *add. Diels ex Eusebio* (**65A**) 3 ἐνηξονισμένην (ἐναξονίζω) *Reiske* : ἐνιζωνισμένην *M* : ἐνιζομένην *Π* : ἐνι – *spatio* 4 *litt. relicto* **¶**

- 65C** Ps.-Galenus, *De historia philosophica* 84 (DG p.633.11–13 Diels)

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μένειν τὴν γῆν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Φιλόλαος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κύκλῳ περιφέρεσθαι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς κινητὴν τὴν γῆν, † ὠρισμένην † ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ’ ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς † κίνημα †.

3 πόντιος *AB* ὠρισμένην *reliquum esse ab ἐνηξονισμένην suspicatur Diels* 4 κίνημα *codd.* : κέντρον *propos. Gottschalk p.155, cf. 65A,B v.4*

- 66** Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria* 4.281E (BT t.3, p.138.6–11 Diehl)

<sup>105 W</sup> ποῦ δὴ οὖν εὐλόγον ἡμᾶς ‘ἰλλομένην’ ἀκούσαντας εἰλουμένην καὶ στρεφομένην αὐτὴν (scil. τὴν γῆν) ποιεῖν, ὥς Πλάτωνι ἀρέσκον λέγοντας; Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποντικός, οὐ Πλάτωνος ὢν ἀκουστής, ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν δόξαν, κινῶν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν. Πλάτων δὲ ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν 5



its own center.

- 65B** Ps.-Plutarch, *Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.13 896A (BT v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.108.5–8 Mau)

Heraclides Ponticus and Ecphantus the Pythagorean make the earth move, not from one place to another <but in revolution>, from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around its own center, fitted with an axle like a wheel.

- 65C** Ps.-Galen, *On the History of philosophy* 84 (DG p.633.11–13 Diels)

The others believe that the earth remains (in its place), whereas the Pythagorean Philolaus (believes) that it moves around in a circle. Heraclides Ponticus, however, (believes) that the earth moves, †in a defined manner† from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around its own †movement†.

- 66** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 4.281E (BT v.3, p.138.6–11 Diehl)

Where then is it reasonable for us, upon hearing that it (the earth) is 'being wound round,' to make it revolve and turn, as if saying something pleasing to Plato? Well, let Heraclides Ponticus, not being a student of Plato,<sup>1</sup> hold this opinion, moving the



ἴστησιν.

*Comment. in Plat. Tim. 40B8–C3 (ἰλλομένην ibi B8)*

4 οὐ *codd.* : ὁ *coni. Fabricius* : τοῦ *coni. Taylor*, at *cf. Voss p. 13 adh. 1*

- 67** Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.13 (CAG t.7, p.519.9–11 Heiberg)

<sup>106</sup> W ἐν τῷ κέντρῳ δὲ οὐσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ κύκλῳ κινουμένην, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἡρεμεῖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ὑποθέμενος σώζειν ὥετο τὰ φαινόμενα.

*Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.13 293b30*

2 ἡρεμοῦντα *c*

- 68** Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.14 (CAG t.7, p.541.28–542.2 Heiberg)

<sup>107</sup> W εἰ δὲ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον (sc. ἐκινεῖτο ἡ γῆ), ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ὑπετίθετο, τῶν οὐρανίων ἡρεμοῦντων, εἰ μὲν πρὸς δύσιν, ἐκείθεν ἂν ἐφάνη τὰ ἄστρα ἀνατέλλοντα, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολάς, εἰ μὲν περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἡμερινοῦ πόλους, οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ διαφόρων ὀρίζοντος τόπων ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλάνητες ἀνέτελλον, εἰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, οὐκ ἂν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ τόπων ἀνέτελλον, ὥσπερ νῦν. εἴτε δὲ περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἡμερινοῦ εἴτε περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθῃ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπόμενα ζῳδια μετάβασις ἀκινήτων τῶν οὐρανίων ὄντων; <sup>5</sup> <sup>10</sup>

*Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.14 297a2* 4–5 *cf. 69 vv.7–9*

4 εἰ – 6 ἀνέτελλον *F: om. Ab* 8 περὶ *F: καὶ A: καὶ περὶ proposuit Heiberg*



earth in a circle. Plato makes it stand unmoved.

<sup>1</sup> The statement that Heraclides Ponticus was not a student of Plato is contradicted by almost all other testimonia; see the testimonia to 1.4–5. E. Schwartz (*Hermes* 44 [1909], 481 n. 1 [p.482]) calls it a biased distortion [“tendenziöse Verdrehung”]. Perhaps the statement means no more than that on this specific issue Heraclides did not follow Platonic teaching; see 79. But ἄκουστίς seems to speak against this explanation.

- 67** Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle’s On the Heaven* 2.13 (CAG v.7, p.519.9–11 Heiberg)

In proposing that the earth is at the center and moving in a circle, and that the sky is at rest, Heraclides Ponticus thought he was preserving the natural phenomena.

- 68** Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle’s On the Heaven* 2.14 (CAG v.7, p.541.28–542.2 Heiberg)

But if (the earth moved) in a circle around its center, as Heraclides Ponticus proposed, while the celestial bodies were at rest, (it would move either toward sunset [west] or toward sunrise [east]). If (the earth moved) toward sunset (west), then the stars would appear rising from there; if (the earth moved) toward sunrise (east), (then the stars would appear rising either around the poles of the equinoctial circle [equator] or around the poles of the zodiac). If (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator), then the sun and the other planets would not rise from different places on the horizon. If (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the zodiac, the fixed stars would not rise always from the same places, as they do. And whether (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator) or around the poles of the zodiac, how would the movement of the wandering bodies into the following signs of the zodiac be preserved, if the celestial bodies are motionless?



- 69** Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.7 (CAG t.7, p.444.31–445.3 Heiberg)

108 W ὑποθέσεως δὲ ἡξίωσε (sc. Ἀριστοτέλης) καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων (sc. τοῦ τε ἀπλανοῦς οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων) ἡρεμούντων, καίτοι ἀπεμφαῖνον δοκοῦν τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν φαινομένην αὐτῶν μετάβασιν ἀμφοτέρων ἡρεμούντων, διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι τινάς, ὧν Ἡρακλείδης τε ὁ Ποντικὸς ἦν 5 καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος, νομίζοντας σώζεσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἡρεμούντων, τῆς δὲ γῆς περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ πόλους ἀπὸ δυσμῶν κινουμένης ἐκάστης ἡμέρας μίαν ἔγγιστα περιστροφὴν· τὸ δ' ἔγγιστα 10 πρόσκειται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς μιᾶς μοίρας ἐπικίνησιν.

*Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.7 289b1  
in orbe lun. 6 923A*

6 Aristarchus, vid. Plut. De fac.

3 τὸ F Guilelmus de Moerbeka: τῷ A

- 70** Calcidius, In Platonis Timaeum commentarius 110 (p.157.6–10 Waszink)

109 W denique Heraclides Ponticus, cum circulum Luciferi describeret, item solis, et unum punctum atque unam medietatem duobus daret circulis, demonstravit ut interdum Lucifer superior, interdum inferior sole fiat. Ait enim et solem et lunam et Luciferum et omnes 5 planetas, ubi eorum quisque sit, una linea a puncto terrae per punctum stellae exeunte demonstrari.

1 Heraclides : heraclites C

- 71** Geminus apud Simplicium, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria 2.2 (CAG t.9, p.292.15–26 Diels)

110 W οἷον διὰ τί ἀνωμάλως ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ πλάνητες φαίνονται κινούμενοι; ὅτι εἰ ὑποθώμεθα ἐκκέντρους αὐτῶν



- 69** Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heaven* 2.7 (CAG v.7, p.444.31–445.3 Heiberg)

He (Aristotle) deemed worth supposing also the view that both (the fixed heaven and the fixed stars) do not move, although it seems absurd that their apparent motion would be preserved if both are at rest, because there have been some, including Heraclides Ponticus and Aristarchus,<sup>1</sup> who believed they were preserving the natural phenomena if the heaven and the stars do not move, but the earth is moving from the sunset (west) each day around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator) each day in as close as possible to one rotation. The “as close as possible” is added because of the additional motion of the sun by one part.

<sup>1</sup> Aristarchus of Samos was an astronomer of the first half of the 3rd century B.C. He was the first to develop the heliocentric hypothesis according to which the sun remains unmoved whereas the earth moves around it in a circle, see *DPhA* 1 A 345.

- 70** Calcidius, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 110 (p.157.6–10 Waszink)

Finally, when Heraclides Ponticus described the orbit of Venus, and likewise of the sun, and attributed one point and one middle to the two orbits, he demonstrated that Venus is sometimes above the sun and sometimes below.<sup>1</sup> For he said that the sun and the moon and Venus and all the planets, wherever each of them might be, are proven to be on a single line running out from a point of the earth through a point of the star.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Above” and “below” the sun, *i.e.*, “‘ahead of’ and ‘behind’ the sun in longitude,” Gottschalk p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive discussion, see Gottschalk pp. 69–81.

- 71** Geminus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 2.2 (CAG v.9, p.292,15–26 Diels)

For example, why do the sun and the moon and the planets clearly move irregularly? Because if we suppose that their orbits



τοὺς κύκλους ἢ κατ' ἐπίκυκλον πολούμενα τὰ ἄστροα, σωθή-  
σεται ἡ φαινομένη ἀνωμαλία αὐτῶν, δεήσει τε ἐπεξελθεῖν,  
καθ' ὅσους δυνατὸν τρόπους ταῦτα ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὰ φαινό- 5  
μενα, ὥστε εἰκέναι τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἐνδεχόμενον τρόπον αἰτιο-  
λογία τὴν περὶ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστροων πραγματείαν. διὸ  
καὶ παρελθὼν τις φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός, ὅτι καὶ  
κινουμένης πως τῆς γῆς, τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου μένοντός πως, δύνα-  
ται ἡ περὶ τὸν ἡλίον φαινομένη ἀνωμαλία σώζεσθαι. ὅλως 10  
γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀστρολόγου τὸ γνῶναι, τί ἡρεμαῖόν ἐστι τῇ  
φύσει καὶ ποῖα τὰ κινητά, ἀλλὰ ὑποθέσεις εἰσηγούμενος  
τῶν μὲν μενόντων, τῶν δὲ κινουμένων σκοπεῖ, τίσιν ὑποθέ-  
σεσιν ἀκολουθήσει τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαινόμενα.

*Comment. in Arist. Phys. 2.2, 193b23 = Posidonius fr. 18 vv. 32-45 Edelstein-Kidd*

1 πλανήτης (*om. οἱ*) *F Aldina*      8 ἔλεγεν *ante ὅτι add. Aldina (fortassse antiquioribus codicibus depromptum, Diels CAG t.9, praef. p.VII, at cf. Gottschalk pp.64-6)*      9-10 πῶς δύναται *DEF*      11 γὰρ : δὲ *F Aldina*

**72** Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.13.34 (BT p.14.32-15.6 Plasberg-Ax)

111 W      ex eadem Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides puerilibus fabulis  
refersit libros, et tamen modo mundum tum mentem divinam esse  
putat, errantibus etiam stellis divinitatem tribuit sensuque deum  
privat et eius formam mutabilem esse vult, eodemque in libro rur-  
sus terram et caelum refert in deos. 5

1 *De Heraclide Pontico discipulo Platonis vid. T ad 1 v.4-5*

2 mundum <deum> *Walker*



do not have the earth at their center, or that the stars go around in an epicycle, their apparent irregularity will be preserved, and then it will be necessary to discuss fully in how many ways it is possible for these phenomena to be realized, so that the treatment of the wandering stars is fitted to the explanation of causes in a way that is possible. For this reason, a certain Heraclides Ponticus, who had come forward, says<sup>1</sup> that if the earth is somehow moving and the sun is somehow standing still, the apparent irregularity concerning the sun can be preserved.<sup>2</sup> For in general it is not the task of the astronomer to know what is at rest by nature and what sorts of things are moveable, but to introduce hypotheses about some which stand still and others which move, and to inquire with which hypotheses the phenomena in the sky agree.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this translation, rather than “someone came forward, says Heraclides Ponticus, (saying)”, see Gottschalk p. 64–6.

<sup>2</sup> For the problems of this account, see Gottschalk pp. 66–8.

<sup>3</sup> Simplicius states that either Geminus or Posidonius as summarized in the epitome by Geminus explained the difference between the study of nature (*physiologia*) and astronomy in the way presented.

**72** Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 1.13.34 (BT p.14.32–15.6 Plasberg-Ax)

From the same school of Plato, Heraclides Ponticus stuffed his books with childish tales, and yet sometimes he believes the world is divine, sometimes the mind. He assigns divinity even to the wandering stars, and he deprives the god of sensation and wants his form to be changeable. And again in the same book he places (the) earth and sky among the gods.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Epicurean Velleius (*RE* VIII A, 1, col. 637, no. 1) is speaking (1.8.18–20.56) — for Epicurean criticism of Heraclides see **1** (92); **14**; **15**. Therefore, it is not “Cicero” who “dismissed a number of his (*scil.* Heraclides’) stories as ‘pueriles fabulas’ ” (J. Bollansée, *FGrH* IVA, fasc. 3, 507 n. 232). Cp. Gottschalk pp. 96–7.



**73** Minucius Felix, Octavius 19.9 (BT p.17.5–9 Kytzler)

Aristoteles variat et adsignat tamen unam potestatem; nam interim mentem, mundum interim deum dicit, interim mundo deum praeficit. Theophrastus etiam variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinae tribuens principatum, Heraclides Ponticus quoque mundo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit.

5

*Theophr. ad fr. 252a FHS&G*

3–5 praeficit aristoteles (Aristoteles *r*) ponticus variat alias mundo alias menti divinae tribuens principatum heraclides ponticus quoque de deo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit. theophrastus et zenon et crysippus et cleanthes *P*: Theophrastus et (etiam *Vahlen*) *deletis verbis* aristoteles ponticus *transp. Roeren, coll. Cic. De nat. deor. 1.35* 5 mundo *Sauppe*: ei *Schöne*: de deo *P*, cf. *Gottschalk pp.156–7*

**74** Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.21.3a (t.1, p.182.20–1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

<sup>112</sup> W Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἄπειρον τὸν κόσμον.

= *DG p.328b5–7 Diels* *Seleucus, vid. Ps.-Plut. Placita 2.1 886C (p.80.7 Mau) = DG p. 328a5 Diels*

**75A** Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 2.13 888F (BT t.5, fasc. 2, pars 1, p.87.9–12 Mau)

<sup>113a</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, γῆν περιέχοντα ἀέρα τε [καὶ αἰθέρα] ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς φέρεται. κοσμοποιοῦσι γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων.

= *Stob. Eclog. 1.24 (t.1, p.204.22–5) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.343 Diels* 3 *Orphici: fr. 22 Kern, cf. fr. 91*

2 καὶ αἰθέρα *secl. Diels (DG p.343), ea verba pro varia lectione vocum ἀέρα τε habens, cf. 75C;D*



**73** Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 19.9 (*BT* 17.5–9 Kytzler)

Aristotle gives various explanations and nevertheless assigns a single power; for at times he calls the universe, at other times the mind god, at still other times he places god (as ruler) over the world. Theophrastus also gives various explanations when he at times attributes the ruling role to the universe, at other times to the divine mind. Heraclides as well ascribes to the universe a divine mind, although in various senses.

**74** Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.21.3a (v.1, p.182.20–1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Seleucus of Erythrae and Heraclides Ponticus (said) the universe (was) infinite.

**75A** Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 2.13 888F (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.87.9–12 Mau)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans (say) that each of the stars<sup>1</sup> is a world, containing land and air [and aether] in the infinite aether. These doctrines are circulated in the Orphic writings. For they make a world out of each of the stars.

<sup>1</sup> With “stars” Heraclides must refer to the planets; see Wehrli, p. 99.



**152 Heraclides of Pontus**

**75B** Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 15.30.8 (t.8, pars 2, p.404. 15–17 Mras-des Places)

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, περιέχοντα αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐμφέρεται κοσμοποιοῦσι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων.

1 δὲ καὶ B

**75C** Ps.-Galenus, *De historia philosophica* 52 (DG p.624.15–19 Diels)

<sup>113c</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι νομίζουσιν γῆν περιέχοντα καὶ αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἀέρι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δόγματα ἐν ἐνίοις Ὀρφικοῖς φέρεσθαι λέγουσι κοσμοποιοῦσι τῶν ἀστέρων ἕκαστον.

2–3 αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἀέρι *codd.*: ἀέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι *Wehrli fr. 113c (cf. 75A)*

**75D** Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 4.20 (BT p.105. 13–15 Raeder)

<sup>113b</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινὲς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν φασί, γῆν περιέχοντα καὶ ἀέρα.

1 οἱ ἄλλοι *BL*<sup>1</sup>

**76A** Ps.-Plutarchus, *Placita philosophorum* 2.25 891C (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.95.3 Mau)

<sup>114a</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 Ἡρακλείδης *Fabricius ex Stob. (76B)*, *vid. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.603 (vii): Ἡράκλειτος codd.*



- 75B** Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 15.30.8 (v.8, part 2, p.404.15–17 Mras-des Places)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans (say) that each of the stars is a world, containing aether in the infinite (sky). These doctrines are circulated in the Orphic writings, which make a world out of each of the stars.

- 75C** Ps.-Galen, *On the History of Philosophy* 52 (DG p.624.15–19 Diels)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans believe each of the stars is a world, containing land and aether in the infinite air. And people say that these doctrines are circulated in a number of Orphic writings, which make a world out of each of the stars.

- 75D** Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 4.20 (BT p.105.13–15 Raeder)

Heraclides and certain others among the Pythagoreans say that each of the stars exists as a world, containing land and air.

- 76A** Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 2.25 891C (BT v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.95.3 Mau)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.



**154 Heraclides of Pontus**

**76B** Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.26 (t.1, p.218.18–19 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ὀκελλος γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 καὶ Ὀκελλος *del. Diels, DG p.356b25, cf. p.100 adn. 1; 216 adn. 2*

**76C** Theodoretus, Graecarum affectionum curatio 4.23 (BT p.106.12 Raeder)

<sup>114b</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 ἡράκλειτος *MC*

**76D** Ioannes Lydus, De Mensibus 3.12 (BT p.53.12 Wünsch)

<sup>114c</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιειλημένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

*= DG p.356, Testim. Plutarchi no. 13 Diels*

1 Ἡρακλείδης *scripsi*: ἡράκλειτος *codd.*

**77** Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 3.2 893C (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.101.13–17 Mau)

<sup>116</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς νέφος μετάρσιον ὑπὸ μεταρσίου φωτὸς καταυγαζόμενον (scil. τὸν κομήτην εἶναί φησιν). ὁμοίως δ' αἰτιολογεῖ πωγωνίαν ἄλῳ δοκίδα κίονα καὶ τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις, καθάπερ ἀμέλει πάντες οἱ Περιπατητικοί, παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ νέφους ταυτὶ γίνεσθαι σχηματισμούς.

5

*= DG p.366a21–367a3 Diels; Stob. Eclog. 1.28 (t.1, p.227.24–228.3) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.366b29–367a2 Diels*

5 τοὺς *om. Marcian. 521* ταυτὶ *corrector Vossiani*: ταύτη *ABC*: ταῦτα *Stobaeus l.l.*



- 76B** Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.26 (v.1, p.218.18–19 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides and Ocellus<sup>1</sup> (say the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.

<sup>1</sup> Ocellus of Lucania was a Pythagorean philosopher who belonged perhaps to the 1st century B.C. The testimonia are collected in DK v.1, no. 48 (p. 440–1).

- 76C** Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 4.23 (BT p.106.12 Raeder)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.

- 76D** John Lydus, *On the Months* 3.12 (BT p.53.12 Wunsch)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land enclosed by mist.

For the verdict by Timaeus of Tauromenium about Heraclides Ponticus, who wrote that a man fell from the moon, see **94**.

- 77** Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.2 893C (BT v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.101.13–17 Mau)

Heraclides Ponticus says (a comet is) a cloud up in the air illuminated by a light up in the air. In like manner, he gives as the cause of a bearded star, a halo, a meteor in the shape of a beam, a meteor in the shape of a column, and (the) things related to these, just like, of course, all the Peripatetics, that these (phenomena) occur varying with the configurations of the cloud.



**78** Ps.-Plutarchus, *Placita philosophorum* 3.17 897B (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.111.9–14 Mau)

<sup>117 W</sup> Ἀριστοτέλης Ἡρακλείδης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τὰ πλείστα τῶν πνευμάτων κινοῦντος καὶ συμπεριφέροντος (scil. ἄμπωτιν καὶ πλήμμυραν γίνεσθαι)· ὑφ' ὧν ἐμβαλλόντων μὲν προωθουμένην ἀνοιδεῖν τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ κατασκευάζειν τὴν πλήμμυραν, καταληγόντων δ' ἀντιπερισπωμένην ὑποβαίνειν, ὅπερ εἶναι τὴν ἄμπωτιν. 5

= *Stob. Eclog. 1.38 (t.1, p.252.7–12) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.382a/b 17 sqq. Diels* 1 *Aristoteles, at vid. Rose<sup>2</sup> p.604. De origine ventorum sec. Aristotelem vid. Meteor. 2.4–6*

1 Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης *Stob. l.1* 3–4 προωθουμένων *Marcian. 521* 4–5 κατασκευάζειν *Diels ex Ps.-Gal. Hist. philos. 88 (DG p.634.13 Diels)*: παρασκευάζειν *codd.*

## De Inferis (79–80)

De iis, quae sunt apud inferos] **17** (22)

De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De iis, quae sunt apud inferos, usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, *Vitae philosophorum* 5.88 (= **1**)

**79** Plutarchus, *Adversus Colotem* 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.11–19 Pohlenz-Westman)

<sup>68 W</sup> ποῦ γὰρ ὢν τῆς ἀοικίης τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφε, ἵνα ταῦτα <sup>(71 W)</sup> συντιθεῖς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων (scil. τῶν Περιπατητικῶν) συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ *Περὶ οὐρανοῦ* καὶ τὰ *Περὶ ψυχῆς*, Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Φυσικοὺς, Ἡρακλείδου δὲ τὸν *Ζωροάστην*, τὸ *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου*, τὸ *Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων*, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ *Περὶ ψυχῆς*, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ 5



- 78** Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.17 897B (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.111.9–14 Mau)

Aristotle<sup>1</sup> (and) Heraclides (say) that (low tide and flood tide occur) under the influence of the sun, which sets in motion and carries around with it most of the winds. Pushed forward by the blowing winds, the Atlantic sea swells up and produces the flood tide, and when they cease the sea is drained off and recedes, which is the low tide.

<sup>1</sup> See V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* p. 604.

### Underworld (79–80)

*On the Things in the Underworld*] **17** (22)

Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On the Things in the Underworld*, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

- 79** Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.11–19 Pohlenz-Westmann)

Where, then, in the uninhabited world were you when you wrote the book, that in composing these attacks you could not come across the writings (*i.e.* of the Peripatetics) and pick up Aristotle's works *On Heaven* and *On Soul*, Theophrastus' *In Reply to the Natural Philosophers*, Heraclides' *Zoroaster*, *On the Things in the Underworld* and *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*, or Dicaearchus' *On Soul*, in which these writers do not stop opposing and battling with Plato<sup>1</sup> on the greatest and



Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι;

4–5 *Theophr. fr. 245 FHS&G* 5–6 *Heraclides, Zoroaster: 17 (56)* 6 *De iis quae sunt apud inferos: 17 (22)* *De quibus secundum physicam scientiam ambigitur: 17 (18)* 7 *Dicaearch. fr. 13 Mirhady*

5 ἡρακλείτου *EB corr. Reiske* (v. *J. Bernays, GesAbh, t.1, pp.42–5*); v. *Marco-vich, Heraclitus, 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p. 602 (i)*

**80** Ps.-Plutarchus, *De libidine et aegritudine* 5 (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.54. 10–20 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

72 W ἔνιοι δ' ἄντικρυς καὶ δόξαν καὶ διαλογισμὸν εἰς τὸ σῶμα κατατείνουσιν, οὐδ' εἶναι αἰτίαν <τὸ> παράπαν ψυχῆς λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ σώματος διαφορᾷ καὶ ποιότητι καὶ δυνάμει συντελεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρ- 5 υπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται ὁ λόγος, οἱ μὲν οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν Ἡρακλείδου νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀντιπαρεξαγωγὴν <συν>τετάχθαι τῶν εἰρημένων ἑτέροις περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς. ὅτῳ <δ' οὖν> γεγραμμένον, ἄντικρυς ἀναιρεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς, ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς εἰρημένας 10 δυνάμεις πάσας.

4–5 *De iis, quae sunt apud inferos: 17 (22)* 9 (ἀναιρεῖ)–10 *cf. Plut. Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epicur. 14 1096E* (... σαρκοποιεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ποιοῦσι, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν ἀναιροῦντες); *C. Colot. 21 1119A* (ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐσία ψυχῆς ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα κεκραμένον ἔσχηκε τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ ζῆν δύναμιν)

2 αἰτίαν *codd.*: οὐσίαν *Pohlenz, probante Sandbach 1969, p.46* (*cf. supra T ad vv. 9–10*) τὸ *add. Bernardakis* ψυχῆς *hIk*: ψυχὴν *Bernardakis Wehrli* (αἰτίαν *retinens*) 3–4 δυνάμει συντελεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα *codd.*: [καὶ] δυνάμεις συντελεῖσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας *Corssen, RhM 67 (1912), 27, cf. vv.10–11; Plut. C. Colot. 21 1119A* (τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ ζῆν δύναμιν) 5–6 παρυπάρχ αὐτοφαίνεται *h*: παρυπάρχειν αὐτὸς φαίνεται *k*: παρυπάρχων αὐτὸ φαίνεται *i* 6 οἱ μὲν οὖν δεινοὶ τὸ *codd.*: *corr. Wyttenbach* 8 <συν>τετάχθαι *Wyttenbach*: τετάχθαι *codd.* 9 ὅτῳ <δ' οὖν> *Pohlenz*: ὅτῳ δὲ *Duebner*: οὕτῳ *codd.*



most decisive issues of natural philosophy?

<sup>1</sup> On Heraclides disagreeing with Plato, see 66 n. 1.

- 80** Plutarch, *Whether Desire and Grief Belong to Mind or Body* 5 (BT v.6, fasc.3, p.54.10–20 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

But some extend both belief and calculation outright to the body, saying that there is absolutely no cause on the part of (the) soul, but that these sorts of faculties come about by the specific form and quality of the body. For some believe that the book entitled *On the Things in the Underworld*, in which the argument shows that the soul is present along with the substantial being, is not at all the work of Heraclides, while others say it has been composed as a controversial attack against the things said by others about the substantial being of (the) soul. But, whoever wrote it, it removes outright the substantial being of it (the soul), as if the body had in itself all the faculties mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the problems this text poses, see Gottschalk pp. 108–10.



## Vitae (81)

De vitis, libri duo] 17 (23)

81 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.25–6 (BT t.1, p.19.1–8 Marcovich)

45 W <Κλύτος> δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ, μονήρη  
 26 αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδιαστήν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ  
 Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μείναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς  
 τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ·  
 ‘διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν’ εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγ- 5  
 καζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι ἔλεγεν· ‘οὐδέπω καιρός’, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ  
 παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν· ‘οὐκέτι καιρός’.

= 11 A 1 (t.1, p.68.19–23) DK; 1–2 (ἰδιαστήν) = Clytus Milesius FHG (t.2, p.333) fr. 3 (deest in FGrH 490, cf. comment. p.403: “falsch”). Narratiuncula eadem: Gnom. Vat. 318; de Thale caelibem vitam vivente vid. Plut. Sol. cap. 6 3–4 τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι, vid. Plut. Sol. 7.2 4 (ἐρωτηθέντα)–5 (φιλοτεκνίαν) = Gnom. Vat. 509 5 (καὶ λέγουσιν) –7 = Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 47 White

1 Κλεῖτος aut Κλύτος Menag. (Κλύτος probavit Cobet): καὶ αὐτὸς BPF (αὐτὸς [scil. Θαλῆς], i.e. persona in dialogo a Heraclide conscripto: Diels adn. ad 11 A 1 [t.1, p.68] DK, at casus recti μονήρης atque ἰδιαστής desiderarentur); Casaubonus primus “auctoris alicuius in mendo hic cubare nomen” vidit 3 Κύβισθον Diels adn. ad 11 A 1 (t.1, p.68) DK, coll. Plut. Sol. 7.2: κίβισθον B: κίδισθον P<sup>1</sup>Q: κίβισσον F σχεῖν Scaliger: ἔχειν BPF

## De Morbis (82–95)

Causae morborum, liber unus] 17 (24a)

De morbis] 17 (24b)

De femina exanimi] 17 (24c)



Lives (81)

*On Lives*, two books] **17** (23)

- 81** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.25–6<sup>1</sup> (*BT* v.1, p.19.1–8 Marcovich)

26 <Clytus> says, as Heraclides relates, that he (Thales) was<sup>2</sup> a solitary man and a recluse.<sup>3</sup> Some people say that he both married and had a son Cybisthus, while others say that he remained unmarried and adopted the son of his sister. And they say that when he was asked why he did not beget children, he said “Because of my fondness of children.” They also say that when his mother was trying to force him to marry he said: “It is not yet the right time,” then, when he had become too old and she was leaning on him, he said: “It is no longer the right time.”

<sup>1</sup> Wehrli assigns this fragment to *On Lives*. It could, however, as well belong to *On Happiness* [**17** (6); **25**], cp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1.5 1097b6–11, who in his treatment of happiness discusses the same topic.

<sup>2</sup> For the structure of the clause as changed by Menagius’ conjecture, cp. Diog. Laert. 1.118 Ἀριστόξενος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου ... φησὶ νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν (sc. Φερεκύδην) ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι.

<sup>3</sup> μονήρη ... καὶ ἰδιαστήν. Wehrli p. 72 reminds of Arist. fr 668 R<sup>3</sup>, where Aristotle characterizes himself in very much the same way as μονώτης and αὐτίτης. Wehrli considers it possible that the description of Thales is phrased after that of Aristotle.

Diseases (82–95)

*Causes relating to Diseases*] **17** (24a)

*On Diseases*] **17** (24b)

*On the Woman not Breathing*] **17** (24c)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a reconstruction of structure and content of the one work for which the titles **17** (24b) and (24c) are transmitted, see Gottschalk pp. 14–36.



**82** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.51 (BT t.1, p.605.8–9 Marcovich)

<sup>76</sup> W ὁμοίως (scil. Τιμαίῳ καὶ Ἑρμίπῳ) καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ  
Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς), ἵπο-  
τροφηκότος τοῦ πάππου.

= *Eratosth.* FGrH 241 F 7 1 *Timaeus* FGrH 566 F 26b (III B) *Hermipp.*  
*fr.* 25 SdA (*Suppl.* t.1); FGrH F 60 (IV A 3, 1026) *Bollansée* 2–3 *De avo*  
*Empedoclis victore in certamine equestri vid.* *Apollodor.* FGrH 244 F 32

1 καὶ FDP<sup>2</sup>Q: om. BP 2 νόσων BP: νήσων D φησὶν ante ὅτι add.  
Marcovich

**83** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.52 (BT t.1, p. 605.12–13; 606.1–7 Marcovich)

<sup>86</sup> W Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς φη-  
σιν ὥς ...

οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες ὥς πεφευγὼς (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) οἴκοθεν  
εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει

πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἔμοι<γε> τελέως ἀγνοεῖν

δοκοῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἦν ἡ παντελῶς

ὑπεργεγηρακῶς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται.

Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν  
φησι τετελευτηκέναι.

= *Empedocl.* 31 A 1 (t.1, p.277) DK; *Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik* 1902, fr. 43  
(p.271–7); *Apollodor.* FGrH 244 F 32 (*Pars* 2 B, p.1029) 3–4 i.e. *bellum*  
*Atheniensium contra Syracusanos annis 415–413 a. Chr. gestum* 6–7  
*Arist. fr.* 71 R<sup>3</sup>; cf. *Diog. Laert.* 8.74

3 πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν *Clinton*: οἴκοθεν πεφευγὼς *BPFD* 5 πρὸς Ἀθη-  
ναίους, ἔμοι <γε> τελέως ἀγνοεῖν *Diels*: πρὸς τοὺς ἀθηναίους τελέως  
ἀγνοεῖν μοι *BPFD*: πρὸς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀγνοεῖν τελέως <ε>μοὶ *Bahnsch* 8  
Ἡρακλείδης *Fr. W. Sturz (Praef. ad Empedoclea, 1805, p.XXI)*: ἡράκλειτον  
*B<sup>1</sup>PF<sup>1</sup>*: ἡράκλειτος *B<sup>2</sup>D* ἐξήκοντ' ἐτῶν *transpos. post αὐτόν Jacoby,*  
*Apollodors Chronik* 1902, p.272; *id.* FGrH 244 F 32



- 82** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.51 (*BT* v.1, p.605.8–9 Marcovich)

Similarly (*sc.* to Timaeus<sup>1</sup> and Hermippus<sup>2</sup>) Heraclides too in his (work) *On Diseases* (says) that he (*sc.* Empedocles<sup>3</sup>) was from an illustrious house, his grandfather having been a breeder of horses.

<sup>1</sup> Timaeus of Tauromenium (second half of fourth, first half of third century B.C.) was author of (*Sicilian*) *Histories* in 38 books. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 566, see **94**.

<sup>2</sup> Hermippus of Smyrna, see **1** n. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Empedocles of Acragas, see **55** with n. 3.

- 83** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.52 (*BT* v.1, p.605.12–13; 606.1–7 Marcovich)

Apollodorus the grammarian says in his *Chronicles* that ...

But those who relate that he (Empedocles) was exiled from his home to Syracuse and waged war with them against the Athenians, seem to me at least to be completely ignorant.

For he was either no longer living or entirely

beyond the limits of old age, which does not seem likely.

For Aristotle says that he had died (at the age) of sixty years, and likewise Heraclides.



- 84** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum Prooemium* 12 (BT t.1, p.11.15–19 Marcovich)

87 W φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι τῷ Σικυωνίων τυράννῳ ἢ Φλειασίων, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου· μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἄλλ' ἢ θεόν.

5

*Cf. Diod. 10.10.1; Val. Max. 8.7 ext.2; August. De civ. D. 8.2 1–2 (φιλόσοφον) Clem. Al. Strom. 1.61.4, cf. Iambl. Vita Pyth. 12.58; 29.159, cf. 8.44; id. In Nicom. arithm. introd. 5; Quint. Inst. orat. 12.1.19 1–3 cf. Sosicrates fr. 17 Giannattasio Andria (Sosicrates idem colloquium cum Leonte Phliasio habitum enarrat) 4–5 μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἄλλ' ἢ θεόν, cf. Clem. Al. Strom. 4.9.1; Diod. 10.10.1; Plat. Apol. 23a5*

4 ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου BP: om. F<sup>1</sup>, add. in mg. F<sup>2</sup> ἄνθρωπον secl. Cobet

- 85** Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.3.8–9 (BT fasc. 44, p.407.16–408.20 Pohlenz)

88 W a quibus (scil. septem sapientibus, Lycurgo, aliis) ducti deinceps omnes, qui in rerum contemplatione studia ponebant, sapientes et habebantur et nominabantur, idque eorum nomen usque ad Pythagorae manavit aetatem. quem, ut scribit auditor Platonis Ponticus Heraclides, vir doctus in primis, Phliun- 5 tem ferunt venisse, eumque cum Leonte, principe Phliasiorum, docte et copiose disseruisse quaedam. cuius ingenium et eloquentiam cum admiratus esset Leon, quaesivisse ex eo, qua maxime arte confideret; at illum: artem quidem se scire nullam, sed esse philosophum. admiratum Leonem novitatem nomi- 10 nis quaesivisse, quoniam essent philosophi, et quid inter eos et reliquos interesset; Pythagoram autem respondisse similem sibi videri vitam hominum et mercatum eum, qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatu totius Graeciae celebritate. nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coro- 15 nae peterent, alii emendi aut vendendi quaestu et lucro duceren-



- 84** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* Preface 12 (*BT* v.1, p.11.15–19 Marcovich)

Pythagoras<sup>1</sup> was the first to use the name “philosophy,” and call himself a “philosopher,”<sup>2</sup> in a conversation in Sicyon with Leon the tyrant of the Sicyonians or the Phliasians,<sup>3</sup> according to what Heraclides Ponticus says in his (treatise) *On the Woman not Breathing*. For, he says, nobody [human being] is wise other than god.

<sup>1</sup> Pythagoras, see **25**.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Burkert, “Platon oder Pythagoras?,” *Hermes* 88 (1960) 159–77; Gottschalk pp. 23–33.

<sup>3</sup> Leon of Phlius was tyrant of Sicyon or Phlius (both located in the northern Peloponnese), probably during the 6th century B.C. E. Schwartz, *RE* V (1903) col. 752, states that the quotation from Heraclides was limited to the words “or the Phliasians” (ἢ Φλειασίων). Gottschalk pp. 26–29 expands on this hypothesis and argues that the “notion of philosophy as second best to a wisdom beyond the reach of man, was foreign to the tradition on which Heraclides drew” (29).

- 85** Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5.3.8–9 (*BT* fasc.44, p.407.16–408.20 Pohlenz)

From these (the seven sages, Lycurgus, others) are descended in turn all who devoted their energy to the contemplation of things, and they were both considered and called wise men. And this name for them spread all the way to the time of Pythagoras. People say that he went to Phlius, as Heraclides Ponticus writes, the pupil of Plato and a man foremost in learning, and discussed certain issues learnedly and at length with Leon, the ruler of the Phliasians. When Leon marveled at his talent and eloquence, he asked him in which art he trusted the most. He in turn said that it was not an art he knew, but that he was a philosopher. Leon, astonished at the novelty of the term, asked what kind of people philosophers were and what the difference was between  
9 them and the rest of mankind. Pythagoras then answered that he thought human life was similar to the kind of fair which is held with a magnificent display of games in a gathering from the whole of Greece. For there some people seek the glory and



tur, esset autem quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maxime ingenuum, qui nec plausum nec lucrum quaererent, sed visendi causa venirent studioseque perspicerent, quid ageretur et quo modo, item nos quasi in mercatus quandam celebritatem ex urbe aliqua sic in hanc vitam ex alia vita et natura profectos alios gloriae servire, alios pecuniae, raros esse quosdam, qui ceteris omnibus pro nihilo habitis rerum naturam studiose intuerentur: hos se appellare sapientiae studiosos — id est enim philosophos —; et ut illic liberalissimum esset spectare nihil sibi adquirentem, sic in vita longe omnibus studiis contemplationem rerum cognitionemque praestare.

5 *De Heraclide Platonis discipulo vid. 1 T. ad v. 4–5 18–19 visendi causa venirent, cf. Iambl. Protr. 9 (p.53.19–26 Pistelli)*

15 illic  $\varsigma$ : illi  $X$  (*del. V*<sup>2</sup>) 17 esse  $V$ <sup>1</sup> 27 cognitionemque  $V$ <sup>c</sup>  $\varsigma$ : cogitationemque  $X$

**86** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.4–5 (BT t.1, p.574.19–575.17 Marcovich)

- 89 W τοῦτόν (scil. Πυθαγόραν) φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἶη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἐλῆσθαι, ὃ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων· ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὐφορβὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ' Εὐφορβὸς ἔλεγεν, ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῶα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἢ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ Ἅϊδι ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.
- 5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εὐφορβὸς ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἣν Μενέλαος ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδα (ἔφη γὰρ



distinction of a crown by training their bodies, and others are drawn by the profit and gain in buying or selling, but there is a certain class of people, and this quite the most genuine, who look for neither applause nor gain, but come for the sake of seeing and look thoroughly with great attention at what is being done and how. In the same way, he said, we have arrived into this life from another life and nature, as if (we had arrived) from some city into some crowd at a festival, and some devote themselves to glory and others to money, but there are certain rare people who count all other matters for nothing and eagerly contemplate the nature of things. These people call themselves lovers of wisdom — that is, philosophers — and just as there (at the fair) it was most fitting (for) a free character to watch while seeking nothing for oneself, so in life the contemplation and understanding of things far surpasses all other pursuits.

- 86** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.4–5 (BT v.1, p.574.19–575.17 Marcovich)

Heraclides Ponticus says that this man (Pythagoras) told the following about himself: how he had once been born Aethalides<sup>1</sup> and was believed to be a son of Hermes, and that Hermes told him to choose anything he wished except immortality. So he requested that while living and while dead he might hold a memory of what happened (to him). Thus in his life he remembered everything, and when he died he retained the same memory. And later in time he came into (the body of) Euphorbus<sup>2</sup> and was wounded by Menelaus. And Euphorbus told how he had once been born Aethalides and that he received from Hermes his gift, and told of the wandering of his soul, how it wandered about, and in how many plants and animals it came to be present, and how many things his soul suffered in Hades, and what the other souls endure.

- 5 And that when Euphorbus died, his soul went over into Her-  
motimus,<sup>3</sup> who himself also wished to give credibility to the story and went up to the Branchidae and entered the sanctuary of Apollo and pointed out the shield which Menelaus had dedi-



αὐτόν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλει ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν  
 ἄσπίδα), διασσηπυῖαν ἤδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένειν τὸ ἐλεφάν-  
 τινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι 20  
 Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἀλιέα. καὶ πάντα πάλιν μνημονεύειν,  
 πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Εὐφορβος, εἶτα Ἑρμότιμος, εἶ-  
 τα Πύρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι  
 Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνήσθαι.

= 14 A 8 (t.1, p.100) DK      *De migrationibus animae Pythagorae* vid. Hip-  
 pobot. fr. 13 Gigante; Dicaearch. fr. 42 Mirhady; Diod. 10.6.a; Gell. Noct.  
 Att. 4.11.14; Ovid. Met. 15.160–4; Hyg. Fab. 112.3; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 1.1;  
 Hippolyt. Refut. 1.2.11; 3.3; Tert. De anim. 28.3; Porphy. Vit. Pyth. 45; Luc.  
 Dial. mort. 20.3; schol. vetus in Soph. El. 62 ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις; schol.  
 vetus in Apoll. Rhod. A 643–8e ἐπιδέδρομε λήθ<η> = FGrH 3 F 109; Suda  
 H 88 (s.v. ἤδη t.2, p.552.13–16) Adler; Theologoumena arithm. p.40 (Ast)  
 in: 14 A 8 (t.1, p.99.26–100.6) DK      2 Aethalides vid. Pherecyd. 7 B 8 (t.1,  
 p.50.16–8) DK      7 sqq. de Euphorbo cf. Maximus Tyr. Diss. 10.2; Lact. Div.  
 inst. 3.18.15–6

2 αὐτοῦ Cobet: αὐτοῦ BPD      4 βούληται codd.: βούλοιτο Cobet      5  
 τελευτῶντα: τελευτήσαντα Cobet      7 τὴν αὐτὴν: an τὴν αὐτῶν? Schiit-  
 rumpf      11–12 ἐν τῷ Ἄϊδι: ἐν ἄδου Cobet      18 διαμένειν codd.:  
 διαμένον Cobet

**87** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.60–2 (BT t.1, p.  
 611.4–7; 15–612.12 Marcovich)

<sup>77</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Πausανία  
 ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν.  
 ἦν δ' ὁ Πausανίας, ὡς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώ-  
 μενος αὐτοῦ ...

61 τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, 5  
 ὡς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ  
 σῶμα. ὅθεν εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱητρον καὶ μάντιν, λαμβάνων  
 ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στίχων

62 ὦ φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄστὺ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος 10  
 ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,  
 χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς



cated (for he said that he [Menelaus], when he sailed away from Troy, had dedicated the shield to Apollo), which was already rotten and only the ivory facing remained. And when Hermotimus died, he became Pyrrhus the fisherman from Delos, and again he remembered everything, how he had become first Aethalides, then Euphorbus, then Hermotimus, then Pyrrhus. And when Pyrrhus died, he became Pythagoras and remembered all the things he had talked about.

<sup>1</sup> According to Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.640–9, Aethalides participated in the voyage of the Argo. Aethalides lived part of the time on earth, another part in the Hades and had received from Hermes the gift of memory which was not destroyed when he went to Hades.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to *metempsychosis*, migration of the soul, cp. Xenophanes 21 B 7 DK (on Pythagoras). Euphorbus, son of Panthous, was a Trojan hero who wounded Patroclus with his spear (Hom. *Il.* 16.806 ff.) and was killed by Menelaus (*ibid.* 17.59–81), see Rohde v. 2, pp. 417–21.

<sup>3</sup> For Hermotimus, see Rohde v. 2, p. 94; Wellmann *RE* VIII 904 no. 2.

**87** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.60–62 (*BT* v.1, p.611.4–7; 15–612.12 Marcovich)

Heraclides in his (work) *On Diseases* says that he (Empedocles) instructed Pausanias too in the matter of the woman not breathing. Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> as Aristippus and Satyrus<sup>2</sup> say, was his beloved, ...

61 Heraclides says the woman not breathing, at any rate, was this sort of case, that for thirty days he (Empedocles) preserved her body non-breathing and without pulsation. For this reason he (Heraclides) said that he (Empedocles) was both a doctor and a prophet, taking his evidence at the same time from these verses:

62 Oh friends, you who inhabit the great town stretching  
down to yellow Acragas  
on the heights of the citadel, caring for good deeds,  
greetings. I go about you as an immortal god, no longer a



πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,  
 ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσιν τε θαλείοις·  
 τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἴκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα,  
 ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἔπονται 15  
 μυρίοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπῃ πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·  
 οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ νούσων  
 παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλυεῖν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

1–7 *vid. Suda A 3242 (s.v. Ἄπνους)* 1–8 = *Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.278–9) DK De Pausania Empedoclis discipulo vid. Empedocl. 31 B 1 DK 3 Satyr. fr. 14 Schorn* 9–10 *Verba ὦ φίλοι ... πόλεος ascribit Diog. Laert. 8.54 initio Empedoclis Lustrationum (Καθαρμοί)* 9–13 = *Anth. Pal. 9.569* 9–18 = *Empedocl. 31 B 112 (t.1, p.354–5) DK; fr. 102 Wright* 11 *Verba χαίρετ' ... θνητὸς profert Suda E 1003 s.v. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς (t.2, p.259.5) Adler* 11–12 *Verba χαίρετ' ... πωλεῦμαι profert Diog. Laert. 8.66; Timaeus FGrH 566 F 2* 11 *χαίρετ' –12 τετιμένος Sext. Emp. Adv. mathem. 1.302* 17 *οἱ μὲν – νούσων cf. Clem. Al. Strom. 6.30.3*

5 Ἡρακλείδης *Mercurialis et Casaubonus; Menagius ad Diog. Laert. prooem. 12: ἡράκλητος BFD: ἡράκλειτος P* 6 ἄσφυκτον *Mercurialis: ἄσηπον codd.: ἄσιτον Suda s.v. Ἄπνους (t.1, p.291.3) Adler* 12 ἔοικα *BPF: ἔοικε(ν) D et Anthol.Pal. 9.569* 13 περίστεπτος *BPD: περίστρεπτος F et Anthol.Pal. 9.569* 14 τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἴκωμαι *P<sup>4</sup> H: <πᾶσι δὲ> τοῖς ἂν ἴκωμαι Wilamowitz* 17 δ' ἐπὶ *Sturz ex Clem.: δέ τι BPF*

## 88 Origenes, Adversus Celsum 2.16 (p.94.21–5 Marcovich)

78 W ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χλευάζου-  
 σιν οἱ ἄπιστοι, παραθησόμεθα μὲν καὶ Πλάτωνα λέγοντα  
 Ἡρα τὸν Ἀρμενίου μετὰ δώδεκα ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐγη-  
 γέρθαι καὶ ἀπηγγελέναι τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου, ὡς πρὸς ἀπίσ-  
 τους δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἄπνου οὐ 5  
 πάντῃ ἔσται εἰς τὸν τόπον ἄχρηστα.

2–3 *Er Pamphylius in Plat. Rep. 10.614B–621B* 3 Ἡρα τὸν Ἀρμενίου  
*Bouhéreau ex Plat.: ἥρον τὸν ἀρμένιον PapCairo no. 88747 PVM<sup>ac</sup>*

## 89 Galenus, De locis affectis 6.5 (t.8, p.414–15 Kühn)

79 W ἐγὼ δὲ θεασάμενος πολλὰς γυναῖκας ὑστερικάς, ... τινὰς  
 μὲν ἀναισθήτους τε ἅμα καὶ ἀκινήτους κειμένας, ἀμυδροτά-



mortal,  
 honored among all, as I appear (to you),  
 crowned with ribbons and fresh garlands.  
 As soon as I come to them into their prospering towns,  
 men and women, I am worshipped.  
 And they follow along  
 numberless, asking where the path to profit (begins),  
 some in need of prophecies, oth-  
 ers with all sorts of diseases,  
 ask to hear the utterance of healing.

<sup>1</sup> According to **94**, Pausanias was a “friend” of Empedocles, cp. **93**, **95A**. He was a student of Empedocles: 31 B 1 DK (Wehrli p. 86).

<sup>2</sup> Satyrus, who lived in the 3rd century B.C., was an author of biographies of philosophers, poets, politicians, and orators. The fragments of Satyros have been edited by S. Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis. Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentari* (Basel 2004).

**88** Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.16 (p. 94.21–5 Marcovich)

As for the fact that non-believers scoff at the story of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, we shall cite the authority of Plato as well, who says that Er, the son of Armenios, had been awakened from the funeral pyre after twelve days and had reported his experiences in the Underworld, as also the story in Heraclides about the woman not breathing, told to non-believers, will not be completely useless in regard to this topic.

**89** Galen, *On affected areas* 6.5 (v.8, p.414–15 Kühn)

Having seen many hysterical women, ... some lying without sensation and at the same time motionless, having a very faint



τόν τε καὶ μικρότατον ἐχούσας σφυγμὸν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς  
 ἀσφύκτους φαινομένας, ἐνίας δ' αἰσθανομένας τε καὶ κινου-  
 μένας καὶ μηδὲν βεβλαμμένας τοῦ λογισμοῦ, λιποδρανούσας 5  
 τε καὶ μόγις ἀναπνεούσας, ἐτέρας δὲ συνελκομένας τὰ κῶ-  
 λα, διαφορὰς ὑπολαμβάνω τῶν ὑστερικῶν παθημάτων εἶ-  
 ναι πλείους, ἥτοι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ποιούσης αἰτίας ἢ  
 κατ' εἶδη τινὰ διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη λε-  
 λεγμένη διαφορὰ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ Ἑρακλείδου γε- 10  
 γραμμένον βιβλίον ἀπορίαν ἔχει πολλήν ὅπως γίγνεται. λέ-  
 γεται γὰρ ἄπνους τε καὶ ἄσφυκτος ἐκείνη ἢ ἄνθρωπος γεγο-  
 νέναι, τῶν νεκρῶν ἐνὶ μόνῳ διαλλάττουσα, τῷ βραχείαν  
 ἔχειν θερμότητα κατὰ τὰ μέσα μέρη τοῦ σώματος. ἐπιγέ-  
 γραπται γοῦν τὸ βιβλίον ἄπνους Ἑρακλείδου, καὶ ζήτησιν 15  
 ἔφη γεγονέναι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἰατροῖς, εἰ μήπω τέθνηκεν.

**90** Galenus, *De difficultate respirationis* 1.8 (t.7, p.773 Kühn)

80 W καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ... ἐν μὲν τοῖς πυρετώδεσιν ἅπασι,  
 καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοις περὶ τι τῶν ἀναπνευστικῶν ὀργάνων ἢ  
 τὴν καρδίαν ἠθροισταί τι πολὺ πλήθος θερμότητος, ἡ ἀνα-  
 πνοὴ πᾶσα μεγάλη καὶ ταχεῖα καὶ πυκνὴ φαίνεται γιγνομένη.  
 ἐν οἷς δὲ ἀπέψυκται τὸ θερμόν, ἢ ἐναντία, ὥστε καί τι 5  
 σιν ἤδη τελέως ἔδοξεν ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ ἦν ὁ Ποντικὸς  
 Ἑρακλείδης ἄπνουν ἔγραψεν ἥδε ἐστίν. τὸ ἀνάλογον γὰρ  
 ἔχειν ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀναπνοὴ τε καὶ  
 σφυγμός, οὕτω καὶ τῷδε. παντελῶς γὰρ οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν  
 ἀπολέσθαι δυνατόν, ἔστ' ἂν περιῇ τὸ ζῶον, ἀπολωλέναι 10  
 μέντοι δόξαι διὰ σμικρότητα θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.

10 περιῇ *codd.* : περιεῖη *von Arnim*

**91A** Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 7.52.175 (BT t.2, p.61.7–11 Ian-Mayhoff)

81 W feminarum sexus huic malo (scil. corpus saepe quasi mortuum diu iacere) videtur maxime opportunus conversione volvae; quae si corrigatur, spiritus restituitur; huc pertinet no-



and tiny pulse or even appearing entirely without a pulse, but a few with perception and motion and not injured at all in their reasoning, fainting and hardly breathing, and others cramping in their limbs, I assume that there are many varieties of hysterical conditions, differing from each other either in the magnitude or kind of cause that produces this condition. The first difference mentioned, then, according to the book written by Heraclides Ponticus, offers a great puzzle as to how it occurs. For that woman is said to have become without breath or pulse, differing from corpses in only one point, the possession of a small amount of heat in the middle parts of her body. Now the work of Heraclides is entitled (*The Woman*) *not Breathing*, and he said that an inquiry had been made by the doctors present, whether she had not already died.

**90** Galen, *On difficulty of breathing* 1.8 (v.7, p.773 Kühn)

Of illnesses, ... in all those characterized by fever, and especially those in which a great abundance of heat has been collected around one of the organs of breathing or the heart, the whole activity of breathing appears to become heavy and swift and frequent. In those in which the heat has been cooled, (breathing is) the opposite, with the result that to some (the patient) has appeared to have already completely died. And the patient, whom Heraclides Ponticus wrote about as (*The Woman*) *not Breathing*, is one of this type. For breathing and pulse seem to be analogous, as in all other cases, in this case too. For it is impossible that either of them completely perishes, as long as the living being survives, but on the other hand it is no wonder that one could appear to have perished on account of the miniscule amount (of breathing and pulse).

**91A** Pliny, *Natural History* 7.52.175 (BT v.2, p.61.7–11 Ian-Mayhoff)

The female sex seems most susceptible to this malady (*i.e.*, that the body often lies for a long time as though dead) because of a turning of the womb. If this is corrected, breathing is resto-



174    **Heraclides of Pontus**

bile illud apud Graecos volumen Heraclidis septem diebus  
feminae exanimis ad vitam revocatae. 5

3 huc editores veteres : hoc codd.

**91B** Plinius, Naturalis Historia I (vii) (BT t.1, p.20.33, 21.20.38–9  
Ian-Mayhoff)

L. VII CONTINENTUR ... (EX AUCTORIBUS) EXTERNIS  
... Heraclide Pontico

Cf. **135B**

**92** Galenus, De tremore 6 (t.7, p.615–16 Kühn)

82 W    Ἀσκληπιάδης γοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ θερμόν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄλ-  
λην τινὰ τιθεὶς ἔμφυτον δύναμιν, ἅπαντα πυρετὸν ἐπὶ τισιν  
ἐμφράξεσιν ὄγκων ἐν πόροις αἰεὶ συνίστασθαι λέγων, ἐν με-  
γέθεσι πόρων τὴν διαφορὰν τιθέμενος αὐτοῦ, οὕτω φιλο-  
τεχνεῖ δείκνυσί τε, τίσι μὲν ἀνάγκη ῥίγος ἐξεῦχθαι, τίσι δ’ 5  
οὐ. καὶ ἔγωγ’ ἂν εἰ μὴ μακρότερόν τε τοῦ καιροῦ τὸν λόγον  
ἤλπιζον ἔσεσθαι ... ἐξῆς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἀπασῶν τῶν δοξῶν ἐπι-  
σκεψάμενος, ἀφ’ ὅτου γε πιθανὸν τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἔσχηκεν  
ἐκάστη, καὶ τί μάλιστα τὸ ἀπατήσαν, ὅπη τε σφάλλονται 10  
δείξας, οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἦκον δόξαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο  
μὲν εἰς ἕτερον ἀναβεβλήσθω καιρόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθήναιον  
ἐπαινῶ περὶ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντι-  
κοῦ καὶ Στράτωνος τοῦ φυσικοῦ λέγοντά τι, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων  
οὐδενὸς μνημονεύοντα, καίτοι γε οὐ τὰς τούτων δόξας μό-  
νον περὶ ῥίγους, ἀλλ’ ἑτέρας πολὺ πλείους οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐν- 15  
δόξους τε καὶ πιθανὰς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν.

1 Asclepiades Bithyn. vid. T ad **59** v.6      13 Strato studiosus naturae: SdA  
(t.5) fr.2



red. To this topic pertains that book of Heraclides celebrated among the Greeks, the story of a woman who after seven days without breathing was called back to life.

- 91B** Pliny, *Natural History* I (vii) (*BT* v.1, p.20.33, 21.20.38–9 Ian-Mayhoff)

Book 7 contains ... (from) foreign (authors) ... Heraclides Ponticus.

- 92** Galen, *On trembling* 6 (v.7, p.615–16 Kühn)<sup>1</sup>

Asclepiades,<sup>2</sup> at any rate, without positing not only heat, but not even any other inborn power, says that every fever always arises as a symptom of certain stoppages of (the) molecules in (the) pores, marking the difference of it (the fever) by (the) sizes of (the) pores. He practices his art accordingly and shows to which cases of fever shivering is necessarily tied and to which not. As for me, if I did not expect that my discourse would be too long for the occasion ... I would next examine all the opinions, and after showing from what source each has plausibly taken its starting point, and what about it is most deceiving, and where people go wrong, by this route I would arrive at my own opinion. But let this be postponed for another occasion. For, as a matter of fact, I do not praise Athenaeus<sup>3</sup> for saying something about Asclepiades<sup>2</sup> and Heraclides Ponticus and Strato<sup>4</sup> the physicist but mentioning none of the others. Surely he was able not only to speak of these men's opinions about shivering, but also many more other (opinions), in no way less famous or plausible.

<sup>1</sup> On this fragment, see Gottschalk pp. 14–5; 52–3.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepiades of Cius, see **59** n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Athenaeus of Attalia was a physicist who founded the school of physicians called the “pneumatists,” probably during the middle of the first century A.D., see *DPhA* 1 A 480.

<sup>4</sup> Strato of Lampsacus was head of the Peripatos after Theophrastus (287–269 B.C.), see the fragments in *SdA* v. 5.



- 93** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.67–8 (BT t.1, p.616.1–18 Marcovich)

83 W περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλέους) λόγος. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὡς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν, φησὶν ὅτι θυσίαν συνετέλει πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ. συνεκέκληντο δὲ τῶν φίλων τινές, 5  
68 ἐν οἷς καὶ Πausanίας. εἶτα μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ' ὅπη βούλοιντο· αὐτὸς δ' ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο. ὡς δ' ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ ἠϋρέθη μόνος. ζητουμένου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινομένων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἰδέναι, εἷς τις 10  
ἔφη μέσων νυκτῶν φωνῆς ὑπερμεγέθους ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλέα, εἶπ' ἐξαναστάς ἐωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν. τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Πausanίας ἔπεμψε 15  
τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐκώλυε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ.

= *Empedocl. 31 A 1* (t.1, p.279) DK

1 αὐτοῦ *hic BDF*: post θανάτου *D*, *editio Froben.* 16 ἐκώλυε *Reiske*:  
ἐκωλύθη *BPFD*: ἐκώλυσε *Cobet*

- 94** Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.70–2 (BT t.1, p.617.6–7, 13–618.12 Marcovich)

84 W Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐξηλώκει (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) ...  
οὕτω δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δ' ἐξαναστάνας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ. ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν 5  
71 διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι. τούτοις δ' ἐναντιοῦται



- 93** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.67–8 (*BT* v.1, p.616.1–18 Marcovich)

Concerning his (Empedocles') death there are differing accounts. For Heraclides, after narrating the events concerning the woman not breathing, how Empedocles became famous when he sent the dead woman off alive, says that he was performing a sacrifice near the field of Peisianax.<sup>1</sup> Some of his friends had  
68 been invited also, and among them was Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> Then after the feast the others departed and went to rest, some under the trees, as there was a field adjoining, and others wherever they wished, but he stayed at the place where he had reclined for the meal. At daybreak when they got up, he alone was not to be found. A search was made for him, and his servants were interrogated and said they did not know (what had happened). But one person said that in the middle of the night he had heard an exceedingly great voice summoning Empedocles, and then he had got up and had seen a heavenly light and the illumination of torches, but nothing else. The others were amazed at what had happened, and Pausanias went down and sent people to search for him (Empedocles). But later he (Pausanias) ordered them not to busy themselves about finding him and said that things had taken place that called for prayer and they must sacrifice to him (Empedocles) as to one who had become a god.

<sup>1</sup> Peisianax, the father of the woman not breathing (Wehrli p. 88).

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, see **87** n. 1.

- 94** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.70–2 (*BT* v.1, p.617.6–7, 13–618.12 Marcovich)

And Diodorus of Ephesus, writing about Anaximander, says that he (Empedocles) emulated him ...<sup>1</sup>

And when the plague had ceased in this way, and the Selnuntines were feasting alongside the river, at some time, Empedocles appeared, and they stood up and fell on their knees and worshipped him and prayed to him as to a god. And, wishing  
71 to confirm this judgment, he jumped into the fire. But Timaeus<sup>2</sup>



Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανήλθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος 10 ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῷ ιδ' (scil. ὁ Τίμαιος). Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι. Πausανίαν τε μνημεῖον <ἂν> πεποιημέναι τοῦ φίλου, τοιούτου διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἢ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι ἢ σηκὸν οἷα θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον εἶναι. 'πῶς οὖν', φησίν, 15 'εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἦλατο ὧν <ὡς> σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ 72 μνεῖαν ποτὲ ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ 115 W ἄλλων πολλῶν.' τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει. 'ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ἐστιν Ἡρακλείδης τοιούτος παραδοξολό- 20 γος καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων.'

= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.281) DK 1–2 Anaximen. 12 A 8 (t.1, p.82) DK  
7–21 Timaeus FGrH 566 F 6 (Timaeus obloquitur Heraclidi, cf. **137B** Testim.)

1 Ἀναξιμάνδρου codd.: Ἀναξαγόρου Gigante (PP 17 [1962] 379), Marcovich, coll. Diog. Laert. 8.56 11 ἐν τῷ ιδ' Diels (31 A 1 DK, ad loc., t.1, p.281): ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ codd.: ιβ' Jacoby dubitanter (app. crit. ad FGrH 566 F 6) 13 ἂν add. C. Mueller, Cobet 16 ὡς add. Cobet 17 ἐπεποίητο codd.: πεποιήται Cobet 21 καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης – λέγων: οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις post καὶ excidisse suspicatur Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 321: παραδοξολόγος <ὡς> καὶ ... λέγειν Marcovich

**95A** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.69 (BT t.1, p.616.19–617.5 Marcovich)

85 W Ἑρμῆς δὲ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὸν (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἰππόβοτος δὲ φησιν ἐξανα- 5 στάντα αὐτὸν ὠδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι, ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐ-



opposes this story, saying explicitly that he (Empedocles) emigrated to the Peloponnesus and did not go back at all: and for this reason also his death is unclear. And against Heraclides he (Timaeus) makes his reply in his fourteenth book, addressing him by name. He says that Peisianax was a Syracusan, and he had no land in Acragas. And Pausanias would have made a monument for his friend, if this sort of story had been circulated, either a statuette or a sacred precinct as for a god, since he was wealthy. “How then,” he says, “did he jump into mouths of volcanoes, when he never even mentioned them as things that  
72 were in close vicinity? Therefore he died on the Peloponnesus. And it is nothing strange that his tomb is not visible,<sup>3</sup> for neither (are the tombs) of many other men.” After saying these sorts of things Timaeus adds: “but throughout Heraclides is just this sort of writer of absurdities, saying even that a man has fallen down from the moon.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There follows the freeing of the inhabitants of Selinus from the plague through the cleansing of the river water.

<sup>2</sup> Timaeus of Tauromenium, see **82** n. 1. Polybius (12.4a6; 12.24; 25c2) considered Timaeus a fault-finder who was excessively critical of others.

<sup>3</sup> Or: “being shown,” cp. Arist. *Pol.* 2.12, 1274a36; for later examples see Rohde v. 1, p. 142 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This might be an inaccurate reference to Heraclides’ astral eschatology, cp. Gottschalk p. 22 n. 25. Or it might be a distorted reference to Heraclides’ concept of souls residing around the Milky Way, whence they come down to the earth, cp. **50**.

**95A** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.69 (BT v.1, p.616.19–617.5 Marcovich)

Hermippus<sup>1</sup> says that he (Empedocles) had cured a certain Pantheia of Acragas, concerning whom the doctors had given up hope, and for this reason he was conducting the sacrifice. And the number of those who had been invited was around eighty. Hippobotus<sup>2</sup> says that after he got up he had travelled the road toward the Etna, and then once he arrived he jumped into the craters of fire and disappeared, wanting to confirm the report about himself, that he had become a god, and that later this became known, when one of his boots was thrown back



τοῦ μᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἵθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι.  
πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Πausanίας ἀντέλεγε.

10

= *Empedocl. 31 A 1* (t.1, p.280–1) DK; *Hippobot. fr. 16 Gigante* 1–4  
(ὀγδοήκοντα) *Hermipp. SdA (Suppl. t.1) fr. 27*; *FGrH 1026 (IV A 3) F 62*  
*Bollansée*

**95B** Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Orationes* 4.59 (p. 164.2–166.12 Bernardi)

ταῦτα μὲν παιζέτωσαν παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἐμπεδοκλεῖς καὶ  
Ἀρισταῖοι καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμοί τινες καὶ Τροφῶνιοι καὶ τοιούτων  
δυστυχῶν ἀριθμός· ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς κρατήρσιν ἐαυ-  
τὸν θεώσας, ὥς ὤετο, καὶ εἰς τὴν κρείττονα λήξιν ἀφ' ἡμῶν  
ἀναπέμψας, τῷ φιλτάτῳ σανδάλῳ κατεμηνύθη παρὰ τοῦ πυ- 5  
ρὸς ἐκβρασθέντι καὶ οὐ θεὸς ἐδείχθη μετ' ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ'  
ἄνθρωπος κενόδοξος καὶ ἀφιλόσοφος μετὰ θάνατον καὶ  
οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ συνετός· οἱ δὲ ἀδύτοις τισὶν ἐαυτοὺς ἐγκρύ-  
ψαντες ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου καὶ φιλαυτίας, εἴτ' ἐλεγχθέντες,  
οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς κλοπῆς ἐτιμήθησαν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν 10  
καθυβρίσθησαν.

= *Aristeas Proconnesius fr. 23 Bolton* *De Empedotimo* v. **52** adn. 2

2 τοιούτων: τῶν τοιούτων S 6 ἐδείχθη *S<sup>pc</sup> P<sup>pc</sup>*: ὤφθη *S<sup>ac</sup> P<sup>ac</sup> CRO*

**95C** Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Carmen ad Nemesium* 281–90 (MPG t.37, col. 1573.5–14 Migne)

Ἐμπεδόκλεις, σὲ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἐτώσια φυσιόωντα, 281  
Καὶ βροτὸν Αἰτναίοιο πυρὸς κρητῆρες ἔδειξαν,  
Σάνδαλ' ἀποβράσσαντες ἐλαφρονόοιο θεοῖο  
Χάλκεα, καὶ σε βροτοῖσιν ἐπαισχέα πᾶσιν ἔθηκαν,  
Κύδεος ἰμείροντα δι' ἄλματος αἰνομόροιο. 285  
Ἑρακλες, Ἐμπεδότιμε, Τροφῶνιε, λήξατε μύθων,  
Καὶ σύ γ' Ἀρισταίου κενεαυχέος ὀφρὺς ἄπιστε.



up, for he was accustomed to wearing footwear of bronze. But Pausanias<sup>3</sup> contradicted this story.

<sup>1</sup> Hermippus of Smyrna, see **1** n. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Hippobotus, see **1** n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, see **87** n. 1.

**95B** Gregory Nazianzen, *Orations* 4.59 (p.164.2–166.12 Bernardi)

Let their Empedocleses and Aristaeuses and Empedotimuses<sup>1</sup> and any number of such wretches amuse themselves by these things: one of them, who thought to have deified himself in the volcanic craters of Sicily was betrayed by his very own sandal cast out of the fire and was shown (to be) not a god after (having been) a human being, but a vainglorious and unphilosophic human being after death, and one who did not even have a grasp of the ordinary things, while those others, who hid themselves in some shrines moved by the same disease (*i.e.*, vainglory) and selfishness and were later exposed, rather than being honoured for their fraud were mocked for failing to conceal it.

<sup>1</sup> Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.

**95C** Gregory Nazianzen, *Poem to Nemesis* 281–90 (*MPG* v.37, col. 1573.5–14 Migne)

Empedocles, that you, for one, puffed up in vain  
And are mortal, the craters of Etna have shown,  
Casting away the sandal of a feeble-minded god,  
The bronze one, and put you as a shame to all mortals,  
Longing to achieve renown by your ill-fated leap.  
Heracles, Empedotimus,<sup>1</sup> Trophonius,<sup>2</sup> stop your tales,  
And you, the faithless brow of vainglorious Aristaeus.



Ἑμεῖς μὲν θνητοί, καὶ οὐ μάκαρες, παθέεσσι,  
 Βαιὸν ἀποπλήξαντες ἐπιχρονίοισι δόλοισι,  
 Μύθοις ὑμεδαποῖσι νόθον κλέος ἀρπάξαντες.

290

281–2 = *Gregor. Naz. Carmina Epitaph. 69* (MPG t.38, col. 46); *Anth. Pal.* 8.28 vv.1–2; *Cosmas Ad carmina S. Gregor.* (MPG t.38 col. 511–2; 542)  
 286–8 = *Gregor. Naz. Carmina Epitaph. 70* (MPG t.38, col. 47); *Anth. Pal.* 8.29 vv.1–3 (*ubi 286 εἴξατε μύθων legitur*)

**95D** Ps.-Nonnus, *Commentarius in orationem 4*, Hist. 1 (p.69.10–16 Nimmo Smith)

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμον καὶ Ἀρισταῖον  
 ὑπῆρχον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας, πόλεως Λεβαδίας, μάντεις δὲ  
 τὰς τέχνας. καὶ οὗτοι δὲ βουλόμενοι κενοδοξῆσαι καὶ δεῖξαι  
 ὅτι ἀνελήφθησαν, ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τισιν ὑποβρυχίοις σπηλαίοις  
 ἔβαλον ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνάναι καὶ μὴ εὗρεθῆναι αὐτῶν τὰ λείψα- 5  
 να. οὗτοι δὲ τεθνήκασιν· ἐγνώσθησαν δὲ ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀπέθα-  
 νον διὰ τὸ μαντεῖον φανῆναι περὶ τὸν τόπον.

*Cf. Cosmas Ad carmina S. Gregor. (MPG t.38, col.512–3)      Hic locus deest  
 in collectione fragmentorum Aristae edita a Bolton.*

### De Poetis, De Musica (96–116)

De Homeri et Hesiodi aetate, libri duo] **17** (28)

De Archilocho et Homero, libri duo] **17** (29)

De Homero] **17** (30)

De iis, quae apud Euripidem et Sophoclem reperiuntur, libri tres]  
**17** (31)

Collectanea virorum studiis musicae deditorum] **17** (32)

De musica, libri duo vel tres] **17** (33a,b)

Solutiones Homericae, libri duo] **17** (34)

De tribus poetis tragicis, liber unus] **17** (36)

De arte poetica et poetis, liber unus] **17** (38)

Tragoediae **150–4**



You are mortal, and not blessed in your sufferings,  
 You have impressed few by your long-contrived tricks,  
 You have gained dubious fame in your local tales.

<sup>1</sup> Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Trophonius, see **122A**; **143**.

**95D** Ps.-Nonnus, *Commentary on oration 4*, Hist. 1 (p.69.10–16 Nimmo Smith)

Trophonius<sup>1</sup> and Empedotimus<sup>2</sup> and Aristaeus (and their followers) were from Boeotia, from the city (of) Lebadeia, and (were) seers (*manteis*) by profession. These persons, wanting to establish a(n empty) reputation and demonstrate that they had been taken up to heaven (to become immortal), threw themselves in certain underground caverns in order that they would (be thought to) be dead and that their mortal remains would not be found. These persons are dead. It was thought that they died in that place because of the fact that the oracle had appeared around the place.

<sup>1</sup> Trophonius, see **122A**; **143**.

<sup>2</sup> Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.

### Poets and Music (**96–116**)

*On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, two books] **17** (28)

*On Archilochus and Homer*, two books] **17** (29)

*On Homer*] **17** (30)

*On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles*, three books] **17** (31)

*Collection (of Tenets) of Experts in Music*] **17** (32)

*On Music*, two or three books] **17** (33a; b)

*Solutions to Homeric (Questions)*, two books] **17** (34)

*On the Three Tragic Poets*, one book] **17** (36)

*On Poetics and the Poets*, one book] **17** (38)

*Tragedies* = **150–4**



De Aristoxeno tradente Heraclidem Ponticum tragoedias scripsisse Thespidisque titulum illis praescripsisse, vid. **1** (92)

De Chamaeleone asseverante Heraclidem Ponticum sua furatum de Homero et Hesiodo scripsisse, vid. **1** (92)

**96** Dio Prusaensis, Orationes 53.1–2 (t.2, p.110.3–7 von Arnim)

<sup>167</sup> W καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ... ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (scil. Ὀμήρου) διέξεισι, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. τούτων δὲ πρότερος Πλάτων πανταχοῦ μέμνηται ...

*Arist. fr. 1 (p.24) R<sup>3</sup>*

**97** Anonymus, In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea commentarium 3.2 (CAG t.20, p.145.26–146.3 Heylbut)

<sup>170</sup> W λέγει δὲ περὶ Αἰσχύλου καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ὀμήρου, ὡς κινδυνεύοντος ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν μυστικῶν περιφέρειν τινὰ δοκεῖν, εἰ μὴ προαισθόμενος κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διονύσου βωμόν, καὶ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων ὡς ὀφείλοντα 5 κριθῆναι πρῶτον, ἐδόκει ὑπαχθῆναι εἰς δικαστήριον καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν, αὐτὸν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφέντων μάλιστα διὰ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ ἐν <τῇ ἐπὶ> Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κυνέγειρος ἀπεκόπη τὰς χεῖρας, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς φοράδην ἀνηνέχθη. μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις καὶ τὸ 10 ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε σῆμα  
κεύθει ἀποφθινόμενον πυροφόρον ...

*Comment. in Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.2 1111a 8–9 = TrGF (t.3) T 93 b (ubi Radt legit ἀποφθινόμενον); cf. Aspasius in Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.2 1111a8 (CAG t.19, p.64.29–31 Heylbut); Clem. Al. Strom. 2.14 60,3 (vid. J. Bernays, GesAbh t.1, p.160–4) 2–3 cf. Ael. Var. hist. 5.19 9 Cynegirus, vid. PA no. 8944; PAA (t.10), no. 588715; RE Suppl. IV col. 1126 12–13 epigramma = Vita Aeschyli 11 (= TrGF t.3 Testim. A, p.34–5):*

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει

→→→



On Aristoxenus's statement that Heraclides Ponticus wrote tragedies and ascribed them to Thespis, see 1 (92).

On Chamaeleon's claim that Heraclides Ponticus wrote his books about Hesiod and Homer after stealing the material from him, see 1 (92).

**96** Dio of Prusa, *Orations* 53.1-2 (v.2, p.110.3–7 v.Arnim)

And especially Aristotle himself ... treats the poet (Homer) in many dialogues, mostly admiring and honoring him, and so does Heraclides Ponticus.<sup>1</sup> And, before these writers, Plato mentions (Homer) everywhere ...

<sup>1</sup> "And so does Heraclides" could include the statement that he deals with Homer "in many dialogues" (cp. Voss p. 75). His works on Homer would then be dialogues as well.

**97** Anonymous, *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* 3.2 (CAG v.20, p.145.26–146.3 Heylbut)

Heraclides Ponticus too says about Aeschylus in his first book *On Homer* that he was at risk of being killed on stage because he seemed to have revealed some of the secrets of the mysteries. (And this would have happened,) if he had not realized this in advance and had taken refuge at the altar of Dionysus. After the members of the Areopagus summoned him, informing him that he first needed to be tried, it was believed he was brought before the court and had been acquitted, the judges letting him go mostly on account of the things he had done at the Battle of Marathon. For his brother Cynegirus had his hands cut off, and he himself sustained many injuries and was brought back on a litter. The epigram on his tomb also bears witness to these deeds:

This monument covers the Athenian Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, who perished wheat-bearing.

μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας  
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἄν εἴποι  
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος. Cf. *ibid.* T 88; T 162

7 αὐτὸν B: αὐτῶν Aldina      8 τῇ ἐπὶ Aldina: om. B      9 Κυνέγειρος  
Wilamowitz: κυναίγυρος codd.



- 98 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 2.43–4 (BT t.1, p.122.2–10 Marcovich)

169 W οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο  
(scil. ἀδίκως αἰτιᾶσθαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὄσων. καὶ  
γὰρ Ὅμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχ-  
μαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν 5  
ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρῶτον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτί-  
44 μησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ. Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ  
Παλαμήδει λέγων·  
ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν  
πάνσοφον,  
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν. 10

2–4 *de Homero Athenas obeunte* v. [*Hes.*] *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 265sqg. 3–4  
*De Homero insaniente* vid. *Dio Chrys. or.* 11.16; 47.5 4 *De Tyrtaeo mentis*  
*non compote* vid. *Paus.* 4.15.6 5 (Ἀστυδάμαντα)–6 (χαλκῇ) = *Asty-*  
*damas II: TrGF* 60 (t.1, p. 199) *T* 8a: *anno 340 honoratus*; vid. *ibid.* *T* 2a  
vv.3–4 8–10 *Eur. TrGF* (t.5.2) *F* 588; *Philostrat. Heroic.* 34.7 (p.48.22–4  
*Lannoy*), cf. *Philochorus FGrH* 328 *F* 221

4 ἐξημίωσαν *coni. Cobet*: ἐτίμησαν *BPV*: ἐτιμήσαντο *F* 5 πρῶτον  
*BPFΦ probante Wilamowitz*: πρότερον *G. Hermann* 9 ὦ Δαναοί *post*  
πάνσοφον *Philostr. Heroic.* 34.7 (p.48.23 *Lannoy*) 10 οὐδέν' *B<sup>2</sup> in mg*:  
οὐδέν' *B<sup>1</sup>PFΦ* ἀλγύνουσαν *FΦ Philostr. cod. H<sup>yp</sup>*: ἀλγύνασαν *B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> in*  
*mg. P*

- 99 Porphyrius ap. Scholion Venetum B in *Homeri Iliadem* 2.649  
(BT fasc.1, p.48.25–49.7 Schrader)

171 W διὰ τί ἐνταῦθα μὲν πεποίηκεν (scil. Ὅμηρος)  
ἄλλοι θ' οἱ Κρήτην ἐκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο,  
ἐν δὲ Ὀδυσσεΐα εἰπὼν ὅτι ἔστιν ἡ Κρήτη καλὴ καὶ πείρα καὶ  
περίρρυτος, ἐπάγει  
ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι 5  
πολλοὶ ἀπειρέσιοι καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις;  
τὸ γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν 'ἐνενήκοντα,' ποτὲ δὲ 'ἐκατὸν' λέγειν δοκεῖ  
ἐναντίον εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λύειν ἐπεχεί-  
ρουν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ μυθεύεται τοὺς μετ' Ἰδομενέως ἀπὸ  
Τροίας ἀποπλεύσαντας πορθῆσαι Λύκτον καὶ τὰς ἐγγὺς πό- 10



- 98 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 2.43–4 (BT v.1, p.122.2–10 Marcovich)

Not only in the case of Socrates did the Athenians experience this, but in very many others.<sup>1</sup> For, according to what Heraclides says, they fined Homer fifty drachmas for being a madman, and they said that Tyrtaeus was out of his mind and they honored Astydamas<sup>2</sup> first among the members of the family of Aeschylus<sup>3</sup> with a bronze statue. Euripides even rebukes them in the *Palamedes*, saying:

You have killed, you have killed,  
the wholly wise,  
the wholly unharmed nightingale of the Muses.

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius of Phaleron (no. 107 SOD) mentions the envy of the Athenians against the philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia.

<sup>2</sup> Astydamas the younger was an Athenian tragic poet of the 4th century B.C., see *TrGF* vol. 1, no. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Astydamas belonged to the family of Aeschylus, see the stemma in *TrGF*: Euphorion, no. 12 T 3 (v. 1, p. 88).

- 99 Porphyry in a Venetian B Scholion on Homer, *Iliad* 2.649 (BT fasc.1, p.48.25–49.7 Schrader)

Why has he (scil. Homer) written here,  
and others who dwelled around Crete with its hundred cities,  
but in the *Odyssey*, after saying that Crete is beautiful and rich and surrounded by water, adds  
and on it are many people, uncountable, and ninety cities?  
For to say in one place “ninety” and in another place “one hundred” seems to be a contradiction. Well, Heraclides and others tried to solve the problem like this: Since he tells how the men who sailed back from Troy with Idomeneus sacked Lyctos and



λεις, ὅς ἔχων Λεύκων ὁ Τάλω πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε τοῖς ἐκ Τροίας ἐλθοῦσιν, εἰκότως ἂν φαίνοιτο μᾶλλον τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἢ ἀκρίβεια ἢ ἐναντιολογία τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Τροίαν ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἑκατὸν ἦσαν πόλεων. τοῦ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως εἰς οἶκον ἦκοντος ἔτει δεκάτῳ μετὰ Τροίας ἄλωσιν καὶ φήμης διηκούσης, ὅτι πεπόρθηνται δέκα πόλεις ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ πῶς συνωκισμέναι, μετὰ λόγου φαίνοιτ' ἂν Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγων ἐνενηκοντάπολιν τὴν Κρήτην, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει, οὐ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ψεύδεται. 15

*De eadem quaestione vid. Arist. fr. 146 R<sup>3</sup>; Ephor. FGrH 70 F 146; Str. 10.4.15; Eust. Ad Hom. Il. 2.649 (313.31–40) = t.1, p.487.9–20 van der Valk; Schol. Vet. in Hom. Il. B 649 (Erbse); Eust. Ad Hom. Od. 19.174 2 Hom. Il. 2.649 5–6 Hom. Od. 19.173–4*

10 Λύκτον Hoeck (cf. Hom. Il. 2.645–7): λέκτον codd. 11 τάλας codd.: Τάλω corr. Dindorf 15 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ B Lp Et: corr. Bekker

**100** Porphyrius ap. Scholion Venetum B in Homeri Iliadem 3.236 (BT fasc.1, p.59.11–18 Schrader)

172 W ἀπίθανον εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐννέα ἐτῶν διελθόντων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ, μηδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῇ Ἑλένῃ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, εἴτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἴτε ὅλως οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἢ ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐξήλθον εἰς τὴν μάχην. οὐ γὰρ ἐνὴν τοιούτους ὄντας μὴ οὐχ ὑπὸ πάντων γινώσκεσθαι παρόντας εἰς τὴν Τροίαν. λέγει δὲ Ἡρακλείδης, ὅτι ἄλογον ἦν ὄντως τοῦτο, εἰ διατελεσάντων ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐννέα ἔτη μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔσχεν Ἑλένη λέγειν. 5

*De eadem quaestione vid. Arist. fr. 147 R<sup>3</sup>; Eust. ad Hom. Iliad. 3.236 (410.5–17) = t.1, p. 645.10–18 van der Valk*

**101** Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 2.51 (BT p.26.5–12 Schrader)

173 W ἑκατὸν δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὄντων μνηστήρων, ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης ἑδυσκαίδεκα πάντες ἄριστοι ῥηθέντων, ζητεῖ Ἡρακλείδης, πῶς ὁ Τηλέμαχος



the cities nearby that Leuco son of Talas was holding when he waged war against those returning from Troy, in all likelihood it would be the precision of the poet rather than some contradiction that is showing. For those going to Troy were from a hundred cities. But when Odysseus arrives home in the tenth year after the capture of Troy, and a rumor has reached him that ten cities on Crete have been sacked, and they have not in any way been united into larger cities, Odysseus would appear to have good reasons for saying that Crete has ninety cities. The result is that, if Homer is not saying the same things about the same things, indeed he does not on this account also lie.

- 100** Porphyry in a Venetian B Scholion on Homer, *Iliad* 3.236 (*BT* fasc.1, p.59.11–18 Schrader)

It seems to be implausible that, after nine years had gone by for the Greeks in Troy, not one of the barbarians had reported to Helen about her brothers, whether they also came to the war, or whether they did not come to Troy at all, or whether they came but did not go out into the battle. For it was not possible that men of such a stature would not be recognized by everybody, if they had come to Troy. Heraclides says that this really was contrary to reason, if, after all the Greeks had spent nine years in Troy, Helen was not able to say anything about her brothers.

- 101** Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the Odyssey*, on 2.51 (*BT* p.26.5–12 Schrader)

Given (the fact) that all the suitors number about a hundred and eighteen, and of these “twelve, all of them outstanding” are said to be from Ithaca, Heraclides investigates why it is that



κατασμικρύνει ἐν τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, συστέλλων τὸ πλήθος εἰς  
μόνους τοὺς Ἰθακησίους. τί γάρ φησι; 5  
μητέρι μοι μνηστήρες ἐπέχραον οὐκ ἐθελοῦση,  
τῶν ἀνδρῶν φίλοι υἷες, οἱ ἐνθάδε γ' εἰσὶν ἄριστοι·  
τὸ γὰρ πολὺ φορτίον τῆς μνηστείας περιήρηκε συστείλας τὸ  
πλήθος εἰς τοὺς ἐνθάδε, τοὺς ὄντας ἐλάχιστον μέρος τοῦ  
παντὸς πλήθους.

2–3 *Hom. Od. 16.251*6–7 *Hom. Od. 2.50–1*9 τοὺς<sup>2</sup> *expunxit Schrader*

**102** Porphyrius, *Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes*  
ad 2.63 (BT p.27.4–13 Schrader)

174 W αἰτιᾶται ὁ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸ τῆς Τηλεμάχου δημηγορίας  
ἀνοικονόμητον. δέον γάρ, φησὶν, ἀξιούν καὶ ἱκετεύειν συν-  
άρασθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μνηστήρων τοῦ οἴκου ἀπαλλα-  
γὴν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιπλήσσει λέγων  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνσχετὰ ἔργα τετεύχεται, οὐδ' ἔτι καλῶς 5  
οἶκος ἐμὸς διόλωλε.  
καὶ τὸ ὅτι [εἰ] μὴ πάρεστιν ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα πάσχειν, † ἐπανα-  
τεινόμενος †  
οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνὴρ  
οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι, 10  
ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν.  
καί, ἔτι πικροτέρου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ὄντος τοῦ λόγου,  
καὶ τὴν ἀπειλὴν  
ἄλλους τ' αἰδέσθητε, φησί, περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους,  
θεῶν δ' ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν. 15  
ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος . . .

5–6 *Hom. Od. 2.63–4*9–11 *Hom. Od. 2.58–60*14–15 *Hom. Od. 2.65–6*

(omissis a Porphyrio οἱ περὶ ναιετάουσι post ἀνθρώπους)

5 οὐδέ τι *distinxit Schrader*7 εἰ *secl. Buttman*

7–8 ἐπανατεινόμενος

R: ἐπανατεινόμενος HQ: Wehrli totam sententiam ab epitomatore contor-  
tam esse intellexit9 ἔστ' *Porphyr. (Schrader)*: ἔπ' *codd. Hom.*13 καὶ  
τὴν πάλιν H: καὶ πάλιν D: *corr. Cobet ap. Dindorf*



Telemachus reduces the number in his speech to the assembly, reducing it to only the Ithacans. For what does he say?

Suitors have attacked my mother, against her will,  
the dear sons of the men who here are outstanding.

For he has removed most of the burden of the courtship by reducing the number to the ones present, who were the smallest part of the whole number.

**102** Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the Odyssey*, on 2.63  
(*BT* p.27.4–13 Schrader)

Heraclides censures also the disorderly arrangement of Telemachus' speech to the assembly. For while it was needed, he says, to ask and beg to help (him) with the goal of removing the suitors from the house, he (Telemachus) rebukes them saying:

For the things that have been done are not endurable any longer,  
and my house has been destroyed in a way that is no longer noble.

(Heraclides) also (censures) the fact that (he says that) just because his father is not there, he suffers that, †dwelling on (it)†:

for there is no man here  
such as Odysseus was, to drive off the curse from the house,  
and we are not in any way such men as could defend it.

And while the speech to the Ithacans is still more bitter, (Heraclides censures) as well the threat:

May you be ashamed before the others, he says, the neighboring people,  
and fear the anger of the gods.

But the accuser does not know . . .



- 103** Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 11.309 (BT p.105.5–106.11 Schrader)

ἀποροῦσί τινες, πῶς τὸν Τιτυὸν εἰπών, ὅτι  
 ἐπ' ἐννέα κείτο πέλεθρα,  
 πάλιν περὶ Ὠτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου διαλεγόμενος·  
 μηκίστους τούτους ἔθρεψε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα  
 μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα. 5  
 καίτοι 'έννεαπήχεις' τούτους φησὶν 'εὖρος, αὐτὰρ μῆκος'  
 γενέσθαι 'έννεοργυίους'. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ εἰκοσιεννέα ὀρ-  
 γυῶν μῆκος πρὸς ἐννέα πλέθρων μεγέθη παραβαλλόμενον,  
 ἵνα δὴ μήκιστοι οὗτοι λέγωνται 'μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα',  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Τιτυὸν πολλῷ μᾶλλον; λύει δὲ Ἡρα- 10  
 κλείδης λέγων, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ παραβολὴ πρὸς τὸ  
 ὁμόφυλον, ἔπειτα ἐννεαετείς ὄντες οὗτοι ἐννεαπήχεις ἐγέ-  
 νοντο τὸ εὖρος 'μῆκός τε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι'. 'εἰ' δὲ  
 'ἥβης μέτρον ἴκοντο', δῆλον ὡς ἀνάλογον ἂν τοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ  
 τὸ μῆκος ἔσχον. ἔπειτα 'μηκίστους' τε ἔφη 'καὶ καλλίστους'. 15  
 ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων τούτοις ὑπῆρξε,  
 μείζω μέντοι τινὰ οὐδὲν κωλύει τούτων τῷ κάλλει λειπόμε-  
 νον.

2 *Hom. Od. 11. 577* 4–5 *Hom. Od. 11.309–10* οὐς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε  
 ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα / καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα 6–7  
*Hom. Od. 11.311–12* (at v. 312 ἐννεόργυιοι) 13 *Hom. Od. 11.312* 13–14  
 εἰ ... ἴκοντο *Hom. Od. 11.317* 15 *Hom. Od. 11.309–10*

13 μῆκός τε : μῆκός γε *codd. Hom.*

- 104** Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 13.119 (BT p.115.9–116.13 Schrader)

175 W τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων ἀτοπίαν, καθ' ἣν τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα καθ-  
 εὔδοντα μὴ διυπνίσαντες εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέθεντο, τοῦ τε  
 Ὀδυσσεύος τὸν ἄκαιρον ὕπνον διαλύειν πειρώμενος ὁ Πον-  
 τικὸς Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ἀτόπους εἶναι τοὺς ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκεν  
 ὁ ποιητὴς μὴ στοχαζομένους περὶ τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τῶν 5  
 Φαιάκων. συνειδότας γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς φιληδονίαν καὶ ἀπολαυ-  
 στικὸν τρόπον καὶ δεδιότας, μή τις αὐτοὺς ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν



- 103** Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the Odyssey*, on 11.309 (*BT* p.105.5–106.11 Schrader)

Some raise the problem how (Homer) says that Tityus  
lay across nine acres,<sup>1</sup>  
but also says about Otos and Ephialtes,  
those were the tallest men the graingiving earth nourished,  
at least after famous Orion.

Yet further he says they were “nine cubits<sup>1</sup> in breadth, but in height nine fathoms”.<sup>1</sup> For what would be a height of even twenty-nine fathoms compared to magnitudes of nine acres, such that these men could be called the largest “at least after famous Orion” but not much more after Tityus? Heraclides solves the problem by saying that by women a comparison (is usually made) with their kinship.<sup>2</sup> Next, being then nine years old these (sons) were nine cubits in breadth, “and they were nine fathoms in height” and “if they had reached the measure of age,” it is clear that they would have had a height analogous to their years. Furthermore, (the poet) said that they (were both) “tallest and most beautiful”: for both these qualities belonged to them most of all the others, whereas nothing prevents that someone who falls short of them in beauty could be larger than they.

<sup>1</sup> “acre” (πλέθρον) = ca. 10000 sq. ft; “cubit” (πῆχυς) ca. 1 1/2 ft; “fathom” (ὄργυια) = ca. 6 ft.

<sup>2</sup> Orion was a son of Poseidon and Euryale; Otos and Ephialtes were sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia.

- 104** Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the Odyssey*, on 13.119 (*BT* p.115.9–116.13 Schrader)

In trying to resolve the absurdity of the Phaeacians, according to which they set Odysseus down onto his land asleep without waking him up, and the untimely sleep of Odysseus, Heraclides Ponticus says that what is absurd is those interpreters who do not try to draw inferences, from what the poet has said, about the whole way of life of the Phaeacians. For they are conscious of their love of pleasure and their way of enjoying life, and afraid



ἐκβάλλῃ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, δύο ταῦτα ὑποκρίνασθαι, φιλοξε-  
νίαν τε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ταχεῖάν τε ἀπόπεμψιν πρὸς τοὺς  
ἐλθόντας, πάντα δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅπως αὐτῶν ἡ οἴκησις λαν- 10  
θήνη καὶ διάστημα ὅσον ἐστὶ μὴ γινώσκηται, νήσον ἀγαθὴν  
οἰκοῦντας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε γεγυμνασμένους οὔτε  
προαιρουμένους, ἀλλ' ἐναντίαν βιοτὴν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἐπι-  
τηδεύμασιν ἔχοντας.

οὐ γὰρ Φαιήκεσσι μέλει βίος οὐδὲ φαρέτρη· 15  
καὶ πάλιν φησὶν αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ δαῖτα μέλιν κίθαριν τε καὶ  
ῥόδας· τοιούτους οὖν ὄντας καὶ τοιαύτην γῆν ἔχοντας οὐδὲν  
ἀπεικὸς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μὴ κατοπτευθέντες ὑπὸ τινων πολεμῆ-  
σαι δυναμένων ἐκπέσωσι τῆς χώρας, καὶ ταχείας τὰς ἀπο-  
πομπὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ξείνων, οὐ διὰ φιλοξενίαν· 20

οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἶδε μάλ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται,  
οὐδ' ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ', ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται.  
οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον διὰ τινά τοιαύτην αἰτίαν αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλ-  
λειν ταχέως τοὺς ξένους, πρὶν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν παρ' αὐ-  
τοῖς τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας. 25

1 τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων ἀτοπίαν “*hanc quaestionem tractavit etiam Eustathius*”  
(*ad Hom. Od. 13.117*) “1733” (11–24), Dindorf *adn. ad Schol. Hom. Od.*  
*13.119* 2–3 τοῦ τε Ὀδυσσέως τὸν ἄκαιρον ὕπνον “*Etiam Aristoteli τὰ*  
*ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ περὶ τὴν ἐκθεσιν ἄλογα visa fuisse, poet. 24 (p. 1460a 35)*  
*traditur*” (Schrader, *ad loc.*) 15 *Hom. Od. 6.270* 16 *Sec. Hom. Od. 8.248*  
21–2 *Hom. Od. 7.32–3*

8 ἐκβάλλῃ *codd. Wehrli*: ἐκβάλλῃ *Schrader* 19–20 ταχείας ... ἀποπομπὰς  
*Vindob.*: ταχυτάτους ἀποπόμπους *H*: ταχυτάτας ἀποπομπὰς *Dindorf*  
21 οἶδε: οἷγε *libri plurimi Homeri* 22 ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται: ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν  
ἔλθῃ *libri plurimi Homeri*

## 105 Vita Homeri Romana 6 (p. 31.17–18 Wilamowitz)

177 W περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἤκμασεν (scil. Ὅμηρος) ὧδε  
λέγεται. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι πρεσ-  
βύτερον Ἡσιόδου.

1 cf. **17** (28) 2 *De Homero maiore natu quam Hesiodus vid. Xenophan. 21 B*  
*13 DK; Ephor. FGrH 70 F 1; Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 157; Philochorus FGrH*  
*328 F 210; Str. 7.3.6 299; [Hes.] Cert. Hom. et Hes. 40*

1 ἤκμασεν *Piccolomini*: ἤκουεν *codd.*



that somebody else might arrive in their land and throw them out, and they assume these two roles, excellent hospitality for those who are there and a speedy departure for those who have come. And they do their utmost so that their dwelling-place lies undetected and it is not known how far away it is. They inhabit a good island, and they have neither the training nor a propensity for war, but enjoy a way of life opposed to warlike activities:

for the Phaeacians care about neither bow nor quiver.

And again he says that they care always about banquet, kithara and songs. Therefore, being people of this sort and having a land of this sort, it is not at all strange that they should be careful to avoid being spotted by some persons capable of waging a war and get expelled from their country, and that they should make the quickest good-byes for their guests; their excellent hospitality is not the reason:

for these people do not much put up with strangers,

nor are they glad to greet them when somebody arrives.

Therefore it is in no way strange that for some reason of this sort they send their guests off quickly, before the visitors become privy to their way of life.

## 105 *Roman Life of Homer* 6 (p.31.17–18 Wilamowitz)

About the time in which he (Homer) flourished the following is said: Heraclides, for one, demonstrates that Homer is older than Hesiod.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Hdt. 2.53.1, both Hesiod and Homer lived roughly 400 years before his time, that is they were considered contemporaries. This time frame is the condition for the fiction of their competition.



**106** Plutarchus, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum 12  
1095A (BT t.6, fasc. 2, p.144.11–15 Pohlenz-Westman)

168 W    οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὴλθεν αὐτοῖς εἰς νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὰς τυφλὰς  
καὶ νωδὰς ἐκείνας ψηλαφήσεις καὶ ἐπιπηδήσεις τοῦ ἀκολά-  
στου μεμαθηκόσιν, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, γράφειν περὶ Ὅμηρου καὶ  
περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Δι-  
καίαρχος. 5

1 αὐτοῖς, i.e. Epicureis, cf. additamenta ad fr. 21 Us. p.343.19 sqq. 4 Aris-  
toteles deest in R<sup>3</sup>. De Aristotele auctore scribente de Homero vid. fr. 99 R<sup>3</sup>  
4–5 Dicaearch. fr. 92 Mirhady

**107** POxy. 1012, fr. 9, col. 2.1–8 (CPF pars I, tom.1\*\*, p.215  
Fanan)

ὁ ἢ Ποντικ]ὸς δὲ Ἡρα[κλείδης  
[ 3/4 λ]έγει λακ[  
[ 4/5 ]ς ὁ κωμ[ικὸς  
[ ± 4 ]ων καὶ δ[  
[ 3/4 ]εντελες[ 5  
[2/3]εἰπὼν τὸ ὄν[ομα τῆς ἐν  
[τῇ] ἡμέρᾳ [ί]ερεῖα[ς  
[ . . ] ῥηθῆναι πά[λιν δὲ κτλ.

*editio princeps in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri t.7 (1910), p.88 Hunt 1–4 =  
Aristophanes Comicus, POxy. 1012 (fr. 9, col. II 1, p.32 Comicorum Graeco-  
rum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta, Austin)*

2 λακ[ωνικῶς vel λακ[εῖν Fanan

**108** Plutarchus, Alexander 26.1–7 (BT t.2, fasc.2, p.186.16–187.17  
Ziegler)

140 W    κιβωτίου δὲ τινος αὐτῷ (scil. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) προσενεχθέν-  
τος, οὐ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρή-  
ματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἡρώτα τοὺς φί-  
λους, ὅ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ κα-  
2 ταθέσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα 5



- 106** Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 12 1095A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.144.11–15 Pohlenz-Westman)

For it never would have occurred to them to put into their mind those blind and toothless gropings and assaults of the licentious man, had they learned, if nothing else, to write about Homer and Euripides, as Aristotle did and Heraclides and Dicaearchus.

- 107** *POxy.* 1012, fr. 9, col. 2.1–8 (*CPF* part I, vol.1\*\*, p.215 Fanan)

Hera[clides Pontic]us  
 [ 3/4 s]ays Lac[ . . . . . ]  
 [ 4/5 ] the com[ic . . . . . ]  
 [ ± 4 ] and [ . . . . . ]  
 [ 3/4 ]complete [ . . . . . ]  
 [ 2/3 ] having mentioned the na[me of the]  
 [p]riestress [in] Himera<sup>1</sup> [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . ] (to) have been mentioned. But again *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> A woman of Himera who foresaw in a dream the tyrannical rule of Dionysius is mentioned in **117B**. It is not clear whether the present text belongs to one of Heraclides' works on prophesies (**117–26**) or in the context in which it is found in the papyrus, namely a debate on the question of identifying individuals mentioned in literary works by their names. Cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

- 108** Plutarch, *Alexander* 26.1–7 (*BT* v.2, fasc.2, 186.16–187.17 Ziegler)<sup>1</sup>

When a small box was brought to him (Alexander), which seemed more valuable than anything else to those receiving Darius' possessions and equipment, he asked his friends which of the things of value they thought should most of all be placed  
 2 into it. When many made many suggestions, he himself said he



φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι  
τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν.

- 3 εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες,  
ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὐκ οὐκ ἀργὸς οὐδ' ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ  
4 συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὅμηρος. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπ- 10  
του κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον  
Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καί τινα  
τόπον γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο  
5 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἶτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὅψιν εἶδε θαυμα-  
στήν· ἀνὴρ πολιὸς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος 15  
ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,

Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν.

- 6 εὐθύς οὖν ἐξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἥ τότε μὲν  
ἔτι νῆσος ἦν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, 20  
7 νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείληπται πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον. ὥς οὖν  
εἶδε τόπον εὐφυῖα διαφέροντα—ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἰσθμῷ  
πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς διείργουσα λίμνην τε  
πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν—  
εἰπὼν ὥς Ὅμηρος ἦν ἄρα τά τ' ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώ- 25  
τατος ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως  
τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας.

5–6 *De Alexandro Homeri Iliadis lectore vid. Plut. Alex. 8.1–2; De Alex. magn. fort. 4 327F–328A* 10–27 *De Alexandria condenda vid. Str. 17.6 (792)–8 (794); Diod. 17.52.1–3; Arr. An. 3.1.5–2.2; Plin. Nat. hist. 5.62; Curt. Histor. Alex. 4.8.1–2* 14–19 *De somnio Alexandri vid. Iasonem (Nysaeum?) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλεις (πρώτη)* 17–18 *Hom. Od. 4.354–5*

9 οὐκ *del. C* 12 συνοικίσας: συνοικήσας *LQ* 21 ἀνείληπται *codd.*: ἀνήπται *J.E. Powell, JHS 59 (1939) 238* 23 διείργουσαν *L<sup>1</sup> PM* 27 συναρμόττοντα *A*: συναρμόττον *Bryan*: συναρμοττόντως *Reiske, at de munere ἀρμόττειν artificibus proprio vid. Arist. Pol. 4.1 1288b12 et Schiit-rumpf ad loc.*

- 109 Ps.-Plutarchus, *De musica* 3 1131F–1132C (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.3.1–4.8 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

157 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ τὴν κι-



would safeguard the *Iliad* by placing it there. More than a few of reliable witnesses have attested to this event.

- 3 And if what is said by the Alexandrians who rely on Heracli-  
des is true, it seems that truly neither in idleness nor without  
4 contribution did Homer go with him on his campaigns. For they  
say that after he (Alexander) had conquered Egypt he wanted to  
establish a large and populous Greek city, and leave it behind  
bearing his own name, and he was about to measure off, on the  
advice of his architects, a site of a such size as none (had) yet  
5 (been measured) and was about to enclose it. Then, resting at  
night, he saw a marvelous vision: a man with perfectly white  
hair and a majestic countenance seemed to be standing beside  
him and saying the following verses:

There is an island there in the surging sea,  
in front of Egypt, and people call it Pharos.

- 6 So, getting up straightway, he walked to Pharos, which at that  
time was still an island a little above the Canobic mouth (of the  
7 Nile), but now has been joined to the mainland by a jetty. When  
he saw there a site outstanding because it was naturally well  
suited — for it is a strip of land, which divides by an isthmus  
of moderate width a large lagoon from the sea, which ends in a  
great harbor — he said that, as it turned out, Homer was amaz-  
ing in other respects and as an architect he was most astute. And  
he (Alexander) ordered his men to sketch out the plan for his  
city by fitting it to this site.

<sup>1</sup> Wehrli places this text under *On Oracles* [= **17** (54)]. Heraclides, however, is mentioned not in the context of Alexander's dream (for dreams see **117–18**), but in that of the gift of the *Iliad* which accompanied him on his campaigns. Müller, *FHG* 2.199 n. 1, believes that Plutarch got this story from Heraclides' book *On Homer* (cp. **17** [30]).

**109** Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music* 3 1131F–1132C (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.3.1–4.8 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

Heraclides in his *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*



1132 θαρῳδίαν καὶ τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν ποίησιν πρῶτόν φησιν Ἀμ-  
 φίονα ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Διὸς καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τοῦ πατρὸς δηλον-  
 ὅτι διδάξαντος αὐτόν. πιστοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς  
 τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης, δι' ἧς τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν 5  
 Ἄργει καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ Λίνον τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας θρήνους πε-  
 ποιηκέναι λέγει καὶ Ἄνθην τὸν ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνης τῆς Βοιωτίας  
 ὕμνους καὶ Πίερον τὸν ἐκ Πιερίας τὰ περὶ τὰς Μούσας ποι-  
 ῆματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλάμμωνα τὸν Δελφὸν Λητοῦς τε καὶ Ἀρ- 10  
 τέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσιν δηλώσαι ἐν μέλεσι καὶ χο-  
 ροὺς πρῶτον περὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν στήσαι· Θάμυριν δὲ  
 B τὸ γένος Θρᾶκα εὐφωρότερον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον πάντων  
 τῶν τότε ᾄσαι, ὥς ταῖς Μούσαις κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς εἰς  
 ἀγῶνα καταστήναι. πεποιηκέναι δὲ τοῦτον ἱστορεῖται Τιτά- 15  
 νων πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πόλεμον. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Δημόδοκον  
 Κερκυραῖον παλαιὸν μουσικόν, ὃν πεποιηκέναι Ἰλίου τε  
 πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἡφαίστου γάμον· ἀλλὰ μὴν  
 καὶ Φήμιον Ἰθακήσιον νόστον τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας μετ' Ἀγα-  
 μέμνονος ἀνακομισθέντων ποιῆσαι. 20

οὐ λελυμένην δ' εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιη-  
 μάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ <τὴν>  
 C Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν, οἱ ποιοῦντες  
 ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον  
 ἔφη κιθαρωδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον 25  
 τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα  
 ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ἀποφῆναι δὲ τοῦτον λέγει ὀνόματα  
 πρῶτον τοῖς κιθαρωδικοῖς νόμοις. ὁμοίως δὲ Τερπάνδρῳ  
 Κλονᾶν, τὸν πρῶτον συστησάμενον τοὺς αὐλωδικοὺς νό-  
 μους καὶ τὰ προσόδια, ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητὴν γεγο- 30  
 νέναι· καὶ Πολύμνηστον τὸν Κολοφώνιον τὸν μετὰ τοῦτον  
 γενόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι ποιήμασιν.

2–3 *Amphio*, vid. *Plin. Nat. hist.* 7.204; *Iulian. ep.* 30      4–5 *monumentum*  
*historiae musicae Sicyone conservatum* FGrH 550 F 1 et F 2      10 *Philam-*  
*mon, filius Apollinis: Pherecydes* FGrH 3 F 120      12 *Thamyris*: vid. *Soph.*  
*TrGF* (t.4) F 245; *Thamyris Musae Eratus filius: Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il.*  
*10* 439 (t.3, p.107.23 van der Valk); *Thamyris Thracius invenit harmoniam*  
*Doriam*: *Clem. Al. Strom.* 1.76.6      15–16 *Titanomachia*: *Hes. Th.* 617–735;  
*Musaios* 2 B 1 (t.1, p.22) DK      18 Ἡφαίστου: *immo Ἄρεως: Hom. Od.*  
*8.267 – at coitus Martis et Veneris in domo Volcani consummatus est*      19



1132 says that Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope, was the first to invent singing to the cithara and the composition of songs for this purpose, his father clearly having taught him. And he confirms this from the record kept in Sicyon, through which he names the priestesses in Argos and the poets and musicians. And in the same period, he says, Linus<sup>1</sup> from Euboea, too, composed laments, and Anthes from Anthedon<sup>2</sup> in Boeotia hymns, and Pierus<sup>3</sup> from Pieria his poems about the Muses. But also that Philammon,<sup>4</sup> the Delphian, revealed in song the birth of Leto and Artemis and Apollo and was first to institute choruses at the sanctuary in Delphi. Thamyras,<sup>5</sup> a Thracian by birth, sang in sweeter tones and more melodiously than all his contemporaries, so that, according to the poets, he entered into a contest with the Muses. And it is related that he composed a *War of the Titans against the gods*. And (according to Heraclides) Demodocus, the Corcyran,<sup>6</sup> was an ancient musician, who composed a *Sack of Troy* and a *Marriage of Aphrodite and Hephaestus*. And, furthermore, Phemius<sup>7</sup> of Ithaca composed a *Homecoming* of those who returned home from Troy with Agamemnon.

C The language of the forementioned works of poetry was not free and lacking in meter, but like that of Stesichorus and the ancient lyric poets, who composed epic verses and set them to music. And he said that Terpander,<sup>8</sup> being a composer of melodies for the cithara, set his own poems to music and those of Homer in each type of melody, and sang these in contests. And he says that this man (Terpander) was the first to give names to the melodies for the cithara. In similar fashion to Terpander, Clonas,<sup>9</sup> who first composed nomes for the aulos and processionals, was a poet of elegies and epic verse. And Polymnestus<sup>10</sup> from Colophon, who was born after him (Clonas), used the same poetic forms.

<sup>1</sup> Linus, the son Apollo and a Muse (Terpsichore, according to Eustathius, *Comm. on Hom. Il.* 10.439, v. 3, p. 107.22–3 van der Valk), is probably a personification of the Linos-song (*Hom. Il.* 18.569f.); various legends were created around him.

<sup>2</sup> According to Paus. *Description of Greece* 9.22.5, Anthas, the son of Poseidon and Alcyone, a daughter of Atlas, was ruler of Anthedon.

<sup>3</sup> According to some (*Suda* O 251, under “Homer” [Ὅμηρος], v. 3, p. 525.5 Adler; [Hes.] *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 1. 43) Pierus was the son of Linus.



*Phemius Ithacensis*, vid. *Demetr. Phaler. fr. 146 SOD* 24 *Terpander*, vid. *Plin. Nat. hist. 7.204*; *Clem. Al. Strom. 1.78.5*; *Suda T 354 s.v. Τέρπανδρος* (t.4, p.527.19–23) *Adler*

1 *post* τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ *add.* εὐδοκιμησάντων *Weil-Reinach* : διαλαμπάντων *Bergk Wehrli* – *non necessarie*, cf. *Arist. Pol. 8.7 1341b33* τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ *et Schütrumpf ad loc.* 1–2 τὴν κιθαρωδίαν καὶ *delevit Volk-mann cum R<sup>3</sup>* 10 *post* Λητοῦς τε *add.* πλάνας *Weil-Reinach* 19 τῶν : τὸν *musici codd. plerique* 22 τὴν *add* *Ziegler* 22–3 ἀλλ’ <ἔμμετρον> καθάπερ <τὴν> Στησιχόρου *Wehrli* 26 ἔπεσι τοῖς <θ’> *Ziegler* 27 (ἀποφῆναι) –28 (νόμοις) *del. Volkman Weil-Reinach*

**110** *Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 15.62 701E–F (BT t.3, p.558.15–559.2 Kaibel)*

<sup>158</sup> W τὸ δὲ ὑφ’ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ λεχθὲν φανερώς  
πέπλασται, ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον εἰς τρεῖς εἰπεῖν τὸν  
θεὸν οὕτως

ἰὴ παιάν, ἰὴ παιάν, <ἰὴ παιάν>.

ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πίστεως τὸ τρίμετρον καλούμενον 5  
F ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦθ’ ἐκότερον εἶναι  
τῶν μέτρων, ὅτι μακρῶν μὲν τῶν πρῶτων δύο συλλαβῶν  
λεγομένων ‘ἰὴ παιάν’ ἡρῶον γίνεται, βραχέως δὲ λεχθειςὼν  
ἱαμβεῖον· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν χωλίαμβον ἀναθε-  
τέον αὐτῷ. βραχειῶν γὰρ γενομένων εἰ δύο τὰς ἀπασῶν 10  
τελευταίας συλλαβὰς εἰς μακρὰν ποιήσει τις, ὁ Ἰππώνακτος  
ἱάμβος ἔσται.

11–12 *Hipponax Ephesius invenit choliambum*: *Clem. Al. Strom. 1.79.1*

4 ἰὴ παιάν, ἰὴ παιάν, <ἰὴ παιάν> *Kaibel* : ἰὴ παιάν, ἰὴ παιών *A* : ἰὴ παίαν,  
ἰε παιών *E* 8 βραχέως *E* : βραχειῶν *propos. Kaibel (coll. μακρῶν v. 7)*  
λεχθειςὼν *del. Kaibel* 9 χωλίαμβον *K* : ἱάμβον *AE*



<sup>4</sup> Philammon, a son of Apollo, was a legendary singer.

<sup>5</sup> Thamyras was the son of Philammon (Eur. *Rhes.* 916; 925; his mother was the Muse Erato: Eust. *Comm. on Hom. Il.* 10.439, v. 3, p. 107.23 van der Valk) and a legendary singer from Thrace. According to Homer, *Il.* 2.594–600, the Muses took away his gift of singing because of his boastfulness.

<sup>6</sup> Demodocus was a bard at the court of Alcinous, king of the Phaiacians, on the island Scherie; Scherie was already in antiquity identified with Corcyra (Demetr. of Phaler. no. 146 SOD makes Demodocus too a native of Corcyra). In Hom. *Od.* 8.492–521 Demodocus sings of the destruction of Troy, and at 8.266–369 of the love of Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>7</sup> Phemius, of Ithaca, was a legendary singer at the court of Odysseus. He sang of the homecoming of the Achaeans: Hom. *Od.* 1.326–7.

<sup>8</sup> Terpander belonged to the early 7th century B.C.

<sup>9</sup> Clonas wrote *nomoi* for the aulos (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 5 1133A), cp. M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 1992, 333–4.

<sup>10</sup> Polymnestus of Colophon, 7th century B.C., wrote elegies and epics and composed *nomoi* for the aulos.

**110** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.62 701E–F (BT v.3, p.558.15–559.2 Kaibel)<sup>1</sup>

What was said by Heraclides Ponticus has clearly been fabricated, that at the libations the god first said this (refrain) three times, as follows:

Iè paian, iè paian, <iè paian>.

F For in consequence of this belief he attributes (the invention of) the so-called trimeter to the god, saying that both types of this meter<sup>2</sup> belong to the god, because when the two first syllables are pronounced as long, *ie paian* becomes a heroic meter,<sup>3</sup> but, when they are pronounced short, it becomes an iambic. Hence it is clear that (the invention of) the choliambic<sup>4</sup> must also be attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> For, if they (the first syllables) become short and one makes the very last two syllables long, there will result the iamb of Hipponax.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the explanation and translation of this fragment, the editor and translators are very much indebted to R. Kannicht.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, iambic (– – – –) and spondaic (— — — —). The ‘heroic trimeter’ here in its form of a spondaic trimeter is understood as consisting of *three* units of measurement (metra) (3x — — — —) and not *six* feet (6x — —) as the term dactylic hexameter indicates (cp. Anon. *Grammat., Supplementa artis Dionysianae vetusta, De prosodiis*, GG vol. 1, p.121.11 τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον ἐξάμετρον ἐστίν· ἐξ γὰρ χώρας ἔχει).



## 111 Scholion in Euripidis Rhesum 346 (p.335.13–19 Schwartz)

159 W ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν (scil. Ῥῆσον) γενεαλογοῦσιν, καθάπερ Ἡρακλείδης. φησὶ δέ· ἐβδόμη δὲ Καλλιόπη, < ἥ > ποίησιν εὖρε ἐπῶν καὶ συνοικήσασα Οἰάγρῳ γεννᾷ Ὀρφέα τὸν πάντων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδικῇ τέχνῃ γε- νόμενον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μαθήσεως † συγκρεμα- 5 τικώτερον † ὀγδόῃ δ' Εὐτέρπῃ, ἥ τὴν κατ' αὐλοῦ εὖρεν εὐέ- πειαν, συνοικήσασα Στρυμόνι τεκνοῖ Ῥῆσον, ὃς ὑπὸ Ὀδυσ- σέως καὶ Διομήδους ἀναιρεῖται.

= Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 146 1 De Euterpe matre Rhesi vid. Eust. Com- ment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439, t.3, p.107.13–5; 20–1 van der Valk 2 De Cal- liope matre Orphei vid. Timoth. Pers. 791.221–4 PMG; Apoll. Rhod. 1.21–3; Procl. In Plat. Tim. comment. 5 291A (t.3, p.168.12–4 Diehl); Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439 (t.3, p. 107.22 van der Valk); [Hes.] Certam. Hom. et Hes. 44 3 De Oiagro patre Orphei vid. Pind. fr. 128 c (= Thren. 3.11) Maehler; Apoll. Rhod. l.l.; [Hes.] Certam. l.l

2 ἡράκλειτος codd.: corr. Schwartz ἥ add. Schwartz 3 ἐπῶν vel ἐπικὴν Wilamowitz: πάντων codd.: ποιημάτων G. Hermann καὶ del. Schwartz 5–6 συγκρεματικώτερον codd.: ἐγχειρηματικώτατον Schwartz: συγκεκροτημένον Haupt

## 112 Aelius Dionysius, Nomina Attica λ 17 (Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika, AbhBerlin 1950, p.128.7–9 Erbse)

160 W λίνον· <χορδὴν> Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός, ἐπειδὴ οἱ πα- λαιοὶ λίνους ἀντὶ χορδῶν ἐχρῶντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἤδη χορδὰς ἐπιστάμενος λίνον καλεῖ.



<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, if a *double* spondee (----) is considered as equivalent to *one* dactylic meter (—υ—υ—), although it consists of *two* units of measurement (—, —).

<sup>4</sup> The choliambus (*skazon*, limping) has the form: υ—υ—, υ—υ—, υ----.

<sup>5</sup> This is an attempt to explain at least some metres as derived from one original metre as it can be found in *POxy.* 120 (B.P. Grenfell-A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, London 1899, 41–52).

<sup>6</sup> Hipponax of Ephesus, belonged to the mid-sixth century B.C. As a poet, he wrote iambi with the metrical peculiarity Heraclides describes. The fragments of his poetry are collected in *IEG* vol. I, pp. 109–171.

# 111 Scholion on Euripides' *Rhesus* 346 (p.335.13–19 Schwartz)

Some trace his (*Rhesus*' ) lineage from Euterpe, as Heraclides did. He says: and the seventh (Muse is) Calliope, <who> invented the composition of epic verse and married Oiagros and bore Orpheus,<sup>1</sup> who became the greatest of all humans in the art of singing to the cithara and besides †fairly well rounded† in his liberal education. And the eighth (is) Euterpe, who invented the euphony of the aulos, married Strymon and gave birth to *Rhesus*, who was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Orpheus, see 119.

<sup>2</sup> These events are described in Homer, *Iliad* book 10.

# 112 Aelius Dionysius, *Attic Words* λ 17 (*Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika*, AbhBerlin 1950, p.128.7–9 Erbse)

Flax: <string> (according to) Heraclides Ponticus, since the people of old used strings of flax instead of gut. But Homer, too, who already knows about strings of gut, calls (it string of) “flax.”<sup>1</sup>



ἐγένοντο δὲ τρεῖς ἥρωες Λῖνοι· Καλλιόπης, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιόπης  
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τρίτος δὲ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτίου καὶ 5  
Ἀπόλλωνος.

*Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 3.336 (421.28–9) = t.1, p.662.10 van der Valk; schol. Hom. Il. 18.570; Phot. Lex. s.v. Λῖνον (Λ 326 Theodoridis) 2 Philochorus FGrH 328 B 207 Linum ab Apollone necatum esse enarrat, cum nervis vicem linearum chordarum usus esset 3 ἐπιστάμενος: Hom. Od. 21.406–7 λῖνον καλεῖ: Hom. Il. 18.570 4 Immo Therpsichore mater Lini: Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439 (t.3, p. 107.22–3 van der Valk) aut Aethusa: [Hes.] Certam. Hom. et Hes. 42*

1 χορδὴν *add. Erbse ex Eust.* 4 Ἀλκιόπης: Ἀλκίππης *dubitanter Naber*

**113** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 10.82 455C (BT t.2, p.490.5–9 Kaibel)

161 W καὶ ὁ εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμῶνι ποιηθεὶς τῷ  
Λάσῳ ὕμνος ἄσιγμός ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντι-  
κὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς, οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή·  
Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον.

2 *De poetis antiquis litteram "s" vitantibus vid. Dionys. Hal. De comp. verborum 14.80; Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 87; Clearch. (SdA t.3) fr. 88; fr. 86; Pind. fr. 70b Maehler 4 = 114 v. 26 Clymenus cognomen Plutonis usitatum Hermionae, v. Callim. fr. 285 Pf.*

**114** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.19–21 624C–626A (BT t.3, p.377.1–381.2 Kaibel)

163 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς οὐδ'  
ἁρμονίαν φησὶ δεῖν καλεῖσθαι τὴν Φρύγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ  
τὴν Λύδιον. ἁρμονίας γὰρ εἶναι τρεῖς· τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέ-  
σθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἴωνας. οὐ μικρὰς 5  
οὖν οὔσης διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἥθεσιν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
μὲν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων τὰ πάτρια διαφυλάττου-  
σιν, Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ (οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν <οἱ> τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γέ-  
D νους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες) παραπλήσιον αἰεὶ ποιοῦνται  
τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀγωγὴν· Ἴωνων δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος ἡλλοίωται  
διὰ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δυναστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς 10  
τῶν βαρβάρων. τὴν οὖν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελωδίας, ἣν οἱ Δωρι-



There were three heroes called Linus: the son of Calliope; second, the son of Alciope and Apollo; the third, the son of Psamathe daughter of Crotius and Apollo.

<sup>1</sup> The string of gut is mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 21.406–7 (“as a man who knows about [ἐπιστάμενος] lyres [φόρμιγγος] and singing | easily tautens a new string [χορδήν] on its peg” (transl. Dawe). The alleged string of flax occurs in *Il.* 18.570 λίνον δ’ ὑπὸ καλὸν ᾄδει, which is usually interpreted as “and he sang the Linos-song to the accompaniment (of the cithara) beautifully.”

- 113** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 10.82 455C (*BT* v.2, p.490. 5–9 Kaibel)

And the hymn composed by Lasus<sup>1</sup> for Demeter in Hermione has no sigmas, as Heraclides Ponticus says in the third book of *On Music*. The beginning of this hymn is:

I dance for Demeter and Kore, wife of the Renowned (god, *i.e.*, Hades).”

<sup>1</sup> The poet Lasus, of Hermione (Argolis, Peloponnesus), lived in Athens at the court of Hipparchus († 514 B.C.), the son of Pisistratus.

- 114** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.19–21 624C–626A (*BT* v.3, p.377.1–381.2 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in the third book of *On Music* says one should not call the Phrygian<sup>1</sup> (sequence of tones) a mode, just as one should not call the Lydian<sup>2</sup> (sequence of tones) a mode. For there are three modes, since there are also three races of Hellenes: the Dorians, the Aeolians, the Ionians. Now, the difference in their characters is not small: the Lacedaemonians preserve more than the other Dorians the ways of their ancestors, whereas the Thessalians (for they are the ones who from the beginning shared their race with the Aeolians) always maintain a similar style of life, but the great majority of the Ionians have been contaminated through adaptation to the various barbarians who



- εἰς ἐποιοῦντο, Δώριον ἐκάλουν ἁρμονίαν· ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ  
 Αἰολίδα ἁρμονίαν, ἣν Αἰολεῖς ἦδον· Ἴαστι δὲ τὴν τρίτην  
 ἔφασκον, ἣν ἤκουον ἁδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δώριος  
 ἁρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ 15  
 διακεχυμένον οὐδ' ἰλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν,  
 E οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτε πολύτροπον. τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος  
 ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαννον· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ  
 ταῦτα ταῖς ἵπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦρ-  
 γον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον καὶ τεθαρρηκός. διὸ καὶ οἰκειὸν 20  
 ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν  
 δίαιταν ἄνεσις. διόπερ ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς Ὑποδωρίου καλουμέ-  
 νης ἁρμονίας ἦθος. αὕτη γάρ ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἣν  
 ἐκάλουν Αἰολίδα, ὡς καὶ Λᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν  
 <ἐν> Ἑρμόνι Δήμητρα ὕμνῳ λέγων οὕτως 25  
 Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον  
 F μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων  
 Αἰολίδ' ἀνὰ βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν.  
 ταῦτα δ' ἄδουσιν πάντες Ὑποδῶρια [τὰ μέλη]. ἐπεὶ οὖν  
 τὸ μέλος ἐστὶν Ὑποδῶριον [τὰ μέλη], εἰκότως Αἰολίδα φη- 30  
 σὶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν ὁ Λᾶσος. καὶ Πρατίνας δέ πού φησι·  
 μήτε σύντονον δίωκε  
 μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν [Ἴαστι]  
 μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν  
 νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει. 35  
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφέστερόν φησι·  
 πρέπει τοι  
 625 πᾶσιν ἀοιδολαβράκταις  
 Αἰολὶς ἁρμονία.  
 πρότερον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, Αἰολίδα αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν, 40  
 ὕστερον δ' Ὑποδῶριον, ὥσπερ ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς  
 τετάχθαι νομίσαντες αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Δώριον ἁρμονίαν.  
*sequitur sententia aliunde inserta.*  
 20B ἐξῆς ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν [Μιλησίων] <Ἰώνων> ἦθος 45  
 ὃ διαφαίνουσιν οἱ [Ἴωνες] Μιλήσιοι, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων  
 εὐεξίαις βρενθυόμενοι καὶ θυμοῦ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλλακτοι,  
 φιλόνηκοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδ' ἰλαρόν ἐνδιδόντες,



ruled them. So people called the melodic style which the Dorians used the Dorian mode, and they called Aeolian the mode which the Aeolians sang, and they said the third, which they heard the Ionians singing, (was) in Ionic. Now, the Dorian mode exhibits manliness and magnificence, and this is not relaxed or merry, but  
E sullen and intense, and neither varied nor complex. The character of the Aeolians has splendor and weight, indeed some superciliousness, and this corresponds with their horse breeding and their hospitality towards strangers: yet it is not nasty, but rather elevated and confident. For this reason fondness for drink, erotic behavior and a thoroughly relaxed way of life is also proper to them. Hence they have the character of the mode called Hypo-Dorian. For this, Heraclides says, is (the mode) which they called Aeolian, just as also Lasus of Hermione<sup>3</sup> (does) in his hymn to Demeter in Hermione, speaking thus:

I dance for Demeter and Kore, wife of the Renowned  
(god, *i.e.*, Hades)  
F Lifting up a honey-voiced hymn  
In the loud-thundering Aeolian mode.

Everyone sings these (verses) in the Hypo-Dorian mode. Since the tune is Hypo-Dorian, Lasus says with good reason that the mode is Aeolian. Pratinas,<sup>4</sup> too, says somewhere:

Pursue neither the severe  
nor the relaxed [Ionian]  
Muse, but, ploughing the middle field,  
be Aeolian in your song.

And in what follows he says more distinctly:

625 You see, the song fitting  
to all bold singers  
is the Aeolian mode.

Formerly, then, as I said, they called it Aeolian, and later Hypo-Dorian, thinking, as some people say, that in pipes it was aligned below the Dorian mode.

*[There follows a sentence inserted from elsewhere]*

20B Next let us examine the character of the [Milesians] <Ionians>, which the [Ionians] Milesians reveal. They swagger in pride at the good condition of their bodies, and they are full of bold spirit, slow to make reconciliations, fond of quarrels. They



- ἀστοργίαν <δὲ> καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἐμφανίζοντες.  
 διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστὶ γένος ἀρμονίας οὔτ' ἀνθηρὸν οὔτε  
 ἰλαρὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληρόν, ὅγκον δ' ἔχον 50  
 οὐκ ἀγεννή· διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ προσφιλεῖς ἡ ἀρμονία. τὰ  
 C δὲ τῶν νῦν Ἰώνων ἡθὴ τραφερώτερα καὶ πολὺ παραλλάττον  
 τὸ τῆς ἀρμονίας ἡθος. *sequitur capitulum aliunde insertum.*  
 21E τρεῖς οὖν αὐταί, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἵπομεν εἶναι ἀρμο-  
 νίας, ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. τὴν δὲ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ τὴν Λυδιστὶ πα- 55  
 ρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οὔσας γνωσθῆναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυγῶν  
 F καὶ Λυδῶν. Λυδοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνηκολούθησαν διὰ τὸ  
 τὴν Σίπυλον εἶναι τῆς Λυδίας· Φρύγες δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ὁμοτέρμο-  
 νες τοῖς Λυδοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν ἡρχεν ὁ Τάντα- 60  
 λος. ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα  
 δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χώματα μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν  
 μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. μαθεῖν οὖν τὰς ἀρμονίας ταύτας  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας παρὰ τούτων. διὸ καὶ Τελέστης ὁ Σελινούν-  
 τιός φησιν· 65
- 626        πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς  
              συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρείας  
              Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον·  
              τοὶ δ' ὄξυφῶνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον  
              Λύδιον ὕμνον. 70

1 *sqq.* Cf. *rationem harmoniarum ap. Poll.* 4.65 (ἀρμονίαι δὲ Δωρὶς Ἰὰς Αἰολὶς αἱ πρῶται, καὶ Φρύγιος δὲ καὶ Λύδιος) 19 *De Thessalis equos alentibus vid. Hdt.* 5.63.3; *Plat. Men.* 70A6; *Leg.* 1.625D3 20–31 *Lasus PMG* 702. *Lasus invenit dithyrambum: Clem. Al. Strom.* 1.78.5 26 = **113**  
 v. 4 31–9 *Pratinas PMG* 712 32–5, 37–9 = *TrGF* (t.1, p. 83) F 6 45  
*De Milesiorum corporum virtute vid. Anacreon PMG* 81 51 *De Ionica harmonia tragoediae apta vid. Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr.* 82 55–8; 64–70  
*Telestes PMG* 810

7 οἱ *add. Kaibel* 20 ἐξηρημένον *AE: corr. Dalechamps* 22 διόπερ  
 ἔχουσι *Kaibel*: διὸ περιέχουσι *AE* 25 ἐν *add. Schweighäuser* 27  
 ἀναγνέων *Bergk* (cf. *Hsch.* A 641 ἀγενεῖν· ἄγειν): ἀναγνῶν *A*: ἀνάγων  
*Casaubonus* 28 ἀνὰ *Wilamowitz*: ἄμα *A*: ἄμ *Edmonds* 29 τὰ μέλη  
*del. Kaibel* 30 τὰ μέλη *del. Casaubonus* 33 Ἰαστὶ *glossema suspicans*  
*del. Page* (*praeunte v. Leeuwen*): Ἰαστὶ οὔσαν *E* 38 ἀοιδολαβράκταις  
*Bergk*: ἀοιδὰ λαβράκταις *codd.* 40 ἔφην *Musurus* (“*verba sunt ipsius*  
*Heraclidae,*” *Kaibel*): ἔφη *A* 44–5 *nomina* Μιλησίων, Ἰῶνες *locum inter*

→→→→



do not concede kindness and cheerfulness at all, but show in their characters indifference to affection and hardness. This is why the Ionian kind of mode is neither exuberant nor merry, but is harsh and hard, having a weight that is not without nobility. Hence this mode is also agreeable to tragedy. But the characters  
C of present day Ionians are much more dainty, and the character of the mode is much different.

[*There follows a chapter inserted from elsewhere*]

21E So the modes are three in number, just as in the beginning we said that they are, the same number as even the races. The Phrygian and Lydian modes, which originated with the barbarians, became known to the Greeks from the Phrygians and Lydians who had returned to the Peloponnesus with Pelops. For  
F the Lydians followed him because Sipulus is part of Lydia. And the Phrygians (followed) not because they shared a border with the Lydians, but because Tantalus ruled them as well. One may even see all over the Peloponnesus, but mostly in Lacedaemon, large mounds which they call the tombs of the Phrygians who came with Pelops. So (Heraclides said) the Greeks learned these modes from them. This is why Telestes of Selinus,<sup>5</sup> too, says:

626 First alongside the wine bowls of the Greeks  
the attendants of Pelops sang to the pipes  
the Phrygian melody of the Mountain Mother.  
And these with the high-pitched strings of their harps<sup>6</sup>  
Played out a Lydian hymn.

<sup>1</sup> Phrygia is a region in the western plateau of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia is a region in western Asia Minor, east of Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> Lasus, see **113**.

<sup>4</sup> Pratinas of Phlius is the poet credited with the ‘invention’ of satyr plays. The fragments are collected in *PMG* 708–13.

<sup>5</sup> Telestes of Selinus (a Greek colony at the SW coast of Sicily) was a poet of dithyramboi who won a victory in Athens in 402/1. The fragments are collected in *PMG* 805–812.

<sup>6</sup> For the *pektis* (πηκτίς), see M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, 71–4.

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*se mutata esse suspicabatur Kaibel, probante Wehrli* 48 δὲ *add. Kaibel*  
52 ἦθη <τε> *propos. Kaibel* 66 Ἑλλήνων *A* 69 τοῖς δ’ *A: corr.*  
*Musurus* ὀξύφωνοις *A: ὀξύφωνοι Wilamowitz* *fort. πακτ-* *Page*  
*ψαλμοὶ A: corr. recc.* 70 *fort. Λυδὸν Page*







**115A** Philodemus, *On Music* 4, *PHerc.* 1497, col. 49.1–20 (Delattre)

... after taking note of some of the things said, in what (Heraclides wrote) concerning appropriate and inappropriate melody, and about masculine and effeminate characters, and about deeds that are fitting and unfitting to the persons who are their subjects. These things are, it is agreed, not far removed from philosophy. And borrowing much more than this from Heraclides, he says that from these considerations it is clear that music is useful in regard to many aspects of life, and that the love of practising it can dispose us with affinity toward quite a few virtues,<sup>1</sup> he thinks, indeed towards all of them.

<sup>1</sup> For the phrase, see Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 10.10 1179b29–30; for the concept *id.*, *Pol.* 8.5 1339a21–5; 1340a5–b19; 6 1341a13–7; 1341b38; Plato, *Rep.* 3 398C–402A6.

**115B** Philodemus, *On Music* 4, *PHerc.* 1497, col. 137.27–138.9 (Delattre)

Regarding what Diogenes<sup>1</sup> says, “Once we consider what is written down in Heraclides concerning appropriate and inappro-



καὶ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἀρρένων  
καὶ μαλακῶν ἡθῶν καὶ  
πράξεων ἀρμοττουσῶν  
κ[αὶ ἀ]ναρμόστων το[ῖ]ς ὑ- 35  
ποκειμένοις προσώπο[ι]ς,  
οὐ μακρὰν ἀπηρτημ[έ]-  
νως τοῦ φιλοσοφ[εῖν]», [πεί-  
θεσθαι τῷ πρὸς π[όλλὰ] [μ]έ-  
ρη τοῦ βίου χρησιμ[εύειν] 40  
τὴν μουσ[ικ]ὴν κ[αὶ τὴν] πε-||  
ρὶ αὐτὴν φιλοτεχνίαν οἱ- 138  
κεῖως διατιθέ[σθ]αι γ[ὰρ] πρὸς  
πλείους ἀρετάς, μᾶλλον δὲ  
καὶ πά[ρ] σ' ας, ἐκθέντες ἡμεῖς  
ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ὑπομνη- 5  
μάτων καὶ τὰ παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ  
συγγενῶς εἰρημένα, παρεδεί-  
ξαμεν ὅσης ἐστὶν γέμοντα  
ληρείας.

= Diogenes Babylonius fr. 88 (1.3) SVF

37–8 -τημ[έ]- νως τοῦ Delattre : -τ[η]μ[έ]λιν[ην τ]ῆς Kemke 38 φιλο-  
σοφ[εῖν] Delattre ex col. 49 : φιλοσοφ[ίας] Kemke 39–41 ex col. 49 post  
Kemke restituit Delattre 138.2 διατιθέ[σθ]αι γ[ὰρ] Delattre : διατι[θέν]αι  
Kemke

116A Philodemus, De poematis, PHerc. 1677, col. 5.20–6.28 (p. 195–6 Romeo)

[δ]ια{α}λεγ[όμ]ενον μὲν  
ὑφ' ἡμῶ[ν ε]ὑτελές, ὑπὸ  
δὲ τοῦ πο[ητοῦ] σεμνὸν  
καὶ πολυτελές φαίνη-  
ται. τότε γείνεσθαί φησι  
τὸ πεποιημένον, οὔτε 25  
σεμνότητος οὔτε πο-  
λυ[τε]λείας φαινομένης,  
ὅταν, ὡς ἔγραψεν, γηθῇ



priate melody, and masculine and effeminate characters, and deeds that are fitting and unfitting to the persons who are their subjects, (these not being) in a way not far removed from philosophy,” we believe in the claim that music is useful in regard to many aspects of life, and the love of practising it disposes (us) properly (with affinity) toward quite a few virtues, or rather even all of them — we have set this out in the third (book) of our *Commentaries* as well as similar statements in other authors, and we have shown with how much silliness they are filled.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes of Babylon was a Stoic philosopher who lived between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The surviving fragments are collected by v. Arnim, *SVF* III 210–243; see *DPhA* 2 D 145.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorandi in *RUSCH*, vol. 15, chap. 1.

**116A** Philodemus, *On Poems*, *PHerc.* 1677, col. 5.20–6.28 (p.195–6 Romeo)

(when something) being discussed by us appears ordinary, but (when it is being discussed) by the poet (appears) majestic and opulent. Then, he claims, the *recherché*<sup>1</sup> comes into being, (25) although neither majesty nor opulence appears, when, as he has written, (the reader/listener) feels delight<sup>2</sup> ...



[- - - κατὰ] τὴν σύνθεσιν	VI 3
[λέγο]μεν, ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς	
ἀκατασκέυου λαλιᾶς· ἔτ[ι]	5
καὶ προπιπτούσης τ[ῆς]	
πολυτ[ε]λείας καὶ σε[μνό-	
τητος, ἢ] διάνοια{ι} τὴν ἐ-	
[τεροί]ωσιν οὐχ ἢ ἀκοή{ι}	
λέγοιτ' ἂν ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ	10
μηδ' ἐν εὐφω{ι}νίαι μη-	
δ[έ πο]τ' ἐν φωνῇ ταῦτα	
κεῖ[σθαι]· διὸ καὶ παράδοξος	
[ε]ἰ[ν φ]α{ι}νεῖη τοῖς ἐφιστά-	
σιν, ὅταν, διαπορήσας	15
[τί αἴ]τιον γείνεται τού-	
του, τὸ παρ' Ἡρ[.]ακλείδῃ	
κεῖσθαι νομιζόμενον	
[ἀ]ποδιδῶι· [τ]έρατα γάρ ἐσ-	
[τιν], οὐ ψευδῇ μόνον,	20
[τὰ ἀ]κοῦσαι λιγυρότητα καὶ	
[ἐμ]μέλειαν, ἣν Ὅμηρος	
ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπὶ πάντων	
τετήρηκε, σεμνότητ' ἢ τεῖ-	
λαι καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἢ	25
παρέχειν φαντασίαν πο-	
[λ]υτελείας καὶ σεμνότη-	
{τη}τος·	

v 24 τότε *Romeo* : τότε *Schiitumpf*      vi 5–28 cf. *Janko 2000, p.135 adn.*  
3      8–9 ἐ[τεροί]ωσιν *Janko* : ἐ[λάττ]ωσιν *Romeo*      19–20 [τ]έρατα γάρ  
ἐσ[τιν], οὐ ψευδῇ μόνον *Mangoni 1993, p.45–6, probante Janko* : [π]έρατα  
γάρ εἰ[πεν] οὐκ ευδημονον |. ἀ]κοῦσαι *Romeo*      21 τὰ *suppl. Janko*  
24–5 σεμνότη{τη}τ' εἶναι *Janko*

**116B** Philodemus, De poematis liber quintus, PHerc. 1425, col. 3.11–6.5 (p. 131–4 Mangoni)

...ύ]πα-  
κούει [καὶ τοὺς] ἄλλους  
πορεύ[εσθαι, μ]ἄλλον



VI (3) ... according to] the composition (of words) we [mean], or again through the unaffected manner of speaking. (5) Furthermore, even when the opulence appears and the majesty, the mind, not the hearing, may be said to contain the a[ltera]tion,<sup>3</sup> (10) because (of the fact) that these (qualities) do not reside in euphony at all, nor yet in sound. (13) For that very reason he would appear absurd to those who pay attention, when, having gone through the puzzles as to the explanation of this, (17) he offers (by way of explanation) the theory which is believed to be found with Heraclides. (19) For it is monstrous,<sup>4</sup> not merely false, that hearing sonority and musicality, which Homer has recognized and maintained in all cases, either effects<sup>5</sup> majesty and opulence or provides the appearance of opulence and majesty.

<sup>1</sup> Romeo renders τὸ πεποιημένον with “lo straniamento.”

<sup>2</sup> Romeo renders γηθῆι with “provochi diletto.”

<sup>3</sup> Janko reads ἐ[τεροί]ωσιν (“alteration”) and renders προπιπτούσης in l. 6 with “appears.” Romeo reads ἐ[λάττ]ωσιν (“danno”) and renders προπιπτούσης with “vengono a cadere.”

<sup>4</sup> [τ]έρατα means “monstrous.” Romeo renders her own reading: “Alla fine infatti disse di percepire ...”

<sup>5</sup> Janko’s reading σεμνότη{τη}τ’ εἶλναι would give: “... that ‘hearing sonority and musicality, ..., is majesty and opulence, or ...’.”

**116B** Philodemus, *On Poems*, fifth book, *PHerc.* 1425, col. 3.11–6.5 (p.131–4 Mangoni)

... (11) he understands (this to mean) that [the] others [too] pro-







ceed (in this way?), and even more so [Herac]lides, as we have [noted]. (14) [Now,] Heracli[des] ... (21) us ... (22) of the same ... (24) For when he [argu]es that ... (25) poet ... (26) the listen[ers, and benefi]ts the ... (27) If, on the one hand, he [has used the word] “benefit” in regard to virtue, it (is) clear [from what] has been said before ... (31) fall in with<sup>1</sup> ... (33)<sup>2</sup> If, on the other hand, he has used the word in a different [way] ...

[2–3 lines are lost]

- IV (1) ... (he is) a [wre]tch, because, there being many (types of) benefiting, he has not defined what (the) type (of benefiting is that) is to be demanded from him (the poet), (4) and because he has not shown through what things he (the poet) gives delight, and what kind of delight, (7) but on both points has left undefined the (particular) excellence of the poet, (10) and because he expels<sup>3</sup> from the (poetical) excellence the most beautiful poems of the most renowned poets (of several actually most of the poems, of a few all), (13) because (of the fact that) they do



τὰ [καὶ] β[λ]άβην κα[ὶ] με-]	
γίσι[τη]ν, ὅσον ἐφ' [αὐτοῖς],	20
πε[ριπ]οιοῦντα, [τί δὲ κα-]	
τὰ τ[ὸ]ν λόγον [τὸ μὲν ἐ-]	
π' ἄκ[ρ]ον ὠφελ' οὐ'ν [τ]ελει-	
ότατ[ο]ν ἔσεσθαι, μηδέ-	
να δὲ [δύ]νασθαι μήτ[ε] δι-	25
ὰ τῆς ἱατρικῆς μήτ[ε] δι-	
ὰ τῆς σοφίας μήτε δι[ὰ]	
πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπι[σ]τη-	
μῶν ἐπ' ἄκρον ἐλαύνον-	
τα μετὰ ποιητικῆς [ἐ-]	30
ξεργα[σ]ίας; καὶ [δ]ὴ γρά-	
φων τὸν τέρποντα μέν,	
οὐκ ὠφελοῦντα δέ, ποι-	
ητικὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὰ	
[δὲ π]ράγμ[ατα μὴ εἶδ]έναι,	V
[φ]αί[ν]εται πᾶσαν ἀπαγ-	
[γ]ελίαν πραγμάτων ὑπο-	
λαμ[βάνει]ν ὠφελεῖν,	
[ὃ] φανερώς ψευδός[ς ἐ]στιν.	5
[ε]ἰ δ' [ἔσ]τιν τις ἀν[ω]φε-	
[λ]ῆς, οὐδὲν κωλ[ύει τ]αῦ-	
[τ]α εἰδότα καὶ ποιητι-	
[κ]ῶς ἀπαγγέλλοντα	
[τ]ὸ[ν ποη]τὴν μηδὲν ὠ-	10
φελ[εῖν]. ἐπιφορτί[ζει δ]' ἄλ-	
λοτρίως τῷ δοκίμῳ	
ποιητ[ῇ] καὶ τὴν ἀκρι-	
βῆ τῶν κατὰ τὰς δι[αλ]έ-	
κτοὺς συνηθειῶν ἐκ-	15
μάθησιν, ἀπο[χ]ρώσης	
τῆ[ς] καθ' ἣν προαιρεῖται	
[γράφει]ν. τῷ δὲ μὴ ΜΕ	
ΛΕ. [— — — ]Τ [— — — ] μ[ο]υ-	
σικῆς ἐπιστήμην ἔ-	20
χειν. τ[ῷ] δὲ τ[ὸ]ν τοι-	
οὔτ[ο]ν .Ο[. .]Ν. [. . . .]Ο	
[. . .]Η[.] πᾶσιν τοῖς τρό-	



not effect any benefit whatsoever. (18) For what is one to say of the (poems) that actually effect harm (and very major harm at that), in so far as depends on themselves?<sup>4</sup> (21) [And what of the fact that ac]cording to the theory what benefits to the highest degree will be most perfect, (24) whereas none (of the poets) is able (to do that),<sup>5</sup> neither by means of the science of medicine nor by means of that of wisdom nor by means of many other kinds of knowledge, striving for the highest degree (of perfection) together with a poetical execution? (30) And indeed, when he writes that the (poet) who gives delight, but does not benefit, v may be poetical, (1) but does not know the facts, he seems to assume that any report of the facts benefits, which is clearly false. If a (report of the facts) is without profit, there is nothing to hinder that the poet, knowing those (facts) and reporting them in a poetical manner, does not provide any profit. (11) He burdens in an improper manner the poet of approved ability also with the (need of a) thorough mastery of the usages that are in accordance with the (different types of) language, although the (mastery) of that type, according to which he chooses to write, suffices. (18) For the one who ... not ... (19) to have knowledge of music. (20) For the one who ... the person of that kind ...







(22) in all manners.<sup>6</sup> (24) Since to poets on the whole geometry and geography and<sup>7</sup> ... (28) and nautical knowledge<sup>8</sup> ... (30) (are) necessary the ... [be]fitting ... (32) altogether all (kinds of  
VI knowledge) which are not handicrafts. (1) Apart ... but rather ... (4) human ... (to) take ... handicrafts<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mangoni p.189 points out that περιπίπτειν (ἐαυτῷ, τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ λόγοις) may be used in the sense of “contraddirsi” or “smentirsi”; in that case “Filodemo si riferisce presumibilmente a una contraddizione da lui individuata nel ragionamento dell’avversario.”

<sup>2</sup> Jensen’s supplement of ll. 30–2 would mean: “that it is not possible to give delight on account of excellence. But if differently ...”

<sup>3</sup> ἐκρ[απί]ζει is literally “cudgels out (from)”. Dübner’s ἐκριπτάζει would mean “throws out (from).”

<sup>4</sup> Gomperz’s ἐφ’ ἡμῖν would mean “on us.”

<sup>5</sup> Jensen’s supplement [ὅ]νασθαί would mean: “none would profit by the science of ...”

<sup>6</sup> Jensen’s supplement of ll. 18–23 would mean “or the fact that he (the poet) studies all habits/characters and the fact that he has knowledge of physics. And do not take it ill that the poet holds his own in all manners.”

<sup>7</sup> Jensen’s supplement in ll. 26–8 would mean the addition of “astrology” and “the activity of being a member of a jury.”

<sup>8</sup> Jensen’s supplement in l. 29 would seem to mean “when he claims that (the poet) must ..., he is dreaming.”

<sup>9</sup> Jensen’s supplement of ll. 1–5 would seem to mean: “apart from the fact that that sort of thing belongs to the domain of others in the first place, and even more to that of a philosopher to take cognizance of mankind and such handicraft.”



Praedictio rerum futurarum (117–26)

Res ad praescientiam pertinentes, liber unus] 17 (40)  
De oraculis] 17 (54a,b)

117A Cicero, De divinatione 1.23.46 (BT p.30.8–15 Giomini)

132 W matrem Phalaridis scribit Ponticus Heraclides, doctus vir,  
auditor et discipulus Platonis, visam esse videre in somniis  
simulacra deorum, quae ipsa [Phalaris] domi consecravisset;  
ex iis Mercurium e patera, quam dextera manu teneret, san-  
guinem visum esse fundere; qui cum terram attigisset, refer- 5  
vescere videretur sic, ut tota domus sanguine redundaret.  
quod matris somnium immanis filii crudelitas comprobavit.

*Cf. Val. Max. 1.7 ext.7      2 De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid.*  
*1 T ad v.4–5*

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3 ipsa phalaris (*ex phalaridis B*) *codd.*: phalaris *primus expunx.* Marsus: quae  
ipse Phalaris *Davies*      4 is AB: his *HMP*      patera ex pate *B*      5 esset  
*B*      attingeret *Rom.*

117B Tertullianus, De anima 46.6 (p.63.24–5 Waszink)

133 W sed et Dionysii Siciliae tyrannidem Himeraea quaedam som-  
niavit. Heraclides prodidit.

*Cf. Timaeus FGrH 566 F 29; Aeschin. or. 2.10; Val. Max. 1.7 ext.6; Phot. Lex.*  
*I 49 (t.2, p.318) Theodoridis; Suda I 165 (t.2, p. 614.8–15 Adler); Anecdota*  
*Graeca t.1, p.266.9–20 Bekker; Centuria III 25 (CPG t.1, p.421)*

118 Tertullianus, De anima 57.10 (p.78.1–4 Waszink)

134 W si et de nocturnis imaginibus opponitur saepe non frustra  
mortuos visos (nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud paren-  
tum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit vel



### Prophecies (117–26)

*Matters Relating to Foreseeing*, one book] **17** (40)  
*On Oracles*] **17** (54a, b)

**117A** Cicero, *On Divination* 1.23.46 (BT p.30.8–15 Giomini)

Heraclides Ponticus, a learned man, a pupil and follower of Plato, writes that the mother of Phalaris<sup>1</sup> thought she saw in her dream<sup>2</sup> statues of the gods which she herself had dedicated at home. Of these Mercury appeared to be pouring blood from a libation bowl which he was holding in his right hand, and when it touched the ground it appeared to boil up in such a way that the whole house overflowed with blood. And this dream of the mother has been confirmed by her son's immense cruelty.

<sup>1</sup> Phalaris, see **37** n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On predictions given in dreams, see Cic. *On Divination* 1.30.63. Philosophers other than Heraclides believed that future events could be revealed during dreams, cp. Plat. *Crit.* 44A6–B5 (Socrates); Cic. *On Divination* 1.25.53 (Aristotle).

**117B** Tertullian, *On the Soul* 46.6 (p.63.24–5 Waszink)

But a certain woman of Himera<sup>1</sup> also foresaw in a dream the tyrannical rule of Dionysius<sup>2</sup> over Sicily, Heraclides has recorded.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above **107** n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius I was tyrant of Syracuse, ca. 430–367 B.C.

**118** Tertullian, *On the Soul* 57.10 (p.78.1–4 Waszink)

If concerning visions in the night, too, it is objected that often the dead are seen and not without purpose (for that the Nasamonians,<sup>1</sup> too, received their own oracles tarrying near to the tombs of their ancestors, as Heraclides writes, or Nymphodorus<sup>2</sup>



Nymphodorus vel Herodotus ...)

4 *Nymphodorus Syracusanus; hoc fragmentum deest in collectione fragmentorum Nymphodori FHG t.2, p.375–81*      *Herodotus 4.172.3*

2 visos *Urs* : vivos *AB Gelenius*

**119** Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.21 108.1–3 (t.1, p.69.17–25 Stählin-Früchtel)

- 130 W καὶ οὐτι γε μόνος οὗτος (scil. Μωυσῆς), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Σί-  
 βυλλα Ὀρφέως παλαιότερα· λέγονται γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμί-  
 ας αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν τῶν καταπεφημισμένων  
 ἐκείνης εἶναι λόγοι πλείους, Φρυγίαν τε οὖσαν κεκλήσθαι  
 Ἄρτεμιν καὶ ταύτην παραγενομένην εἰς Δελφοὺς ᾄσαι· 5  
 2 ὦ Δελφοί, θεράποντες ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἦλθον ἐγὼ χρήσουσα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,  
 αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ κεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.  
 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Ἐρυθραία Ἡροφίλη καλουμένη· μέμνηται  
 τούτων Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων. 10

*De aetate Mosis comparata cum ea Orphei et Sibyllae cf. Euseb. Praep. evang. 10.11.27*      6–8 *deest in Parke-Wormell*      9 *Herophila Erythraea: Paus. 10.12.7; Herm. In Plat. Phaedr. schol. p.94.25 Cuvreur; vid. adn. ad 120A; 120C adn. ad v.2*

2 λέγονται *Dindorf*: λέγεται *codd.*      3 καταπεφημισμένων: καταπεφημισμένων *L*

**120A** Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1.6.8; 12 (p.24.3–4, 25.11–14 Heck-Wlosok)

- 131a W ceterum (scil. Varro scripsit) Sibyllas decem numero fuisse  
 easque omnes enumeravit sub auctoribus qui de singulis scrip-  
 12 taverint ... octavam Hellespontiam in agro Troiano natam, vico  
 Marmesso circa oppidum Gergithium, quam scribat Heraclides



or Herodotus ...).

<sup>1</sup> The Nasamonians were a tribe living in Libya. They prophesied from dreams that they had at the graves of their ancestors: Hdt. 4.172.

<sup>2</sup> Nymphodorus of Syracuse, who lived at the end of the 3rd century B.C., wrote accounts of travels, among which was *Sailing around Asia* (Περίπλους Ἀσίας).

**119** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 108.1–3 (v.1, p.69.17–25 Stählin-Früchtel)

But not only he (Moses), but the Sibyl, too, is older than Orpheus.<sup>1</sup> It is said that there are quite a few stories about her name and about the oracles of that woman that were spread abroad, for example, that she was Phrygian<sup>2</sup> and had been called Artemis, and that she arrived in Delphi and sang:

2           Oh Delphians, servants of far-shooting Apollo,  
              I have come to pronounce the mind of Zeus the aegis  
              bearer,  
              angry at my very own brother Apollo.

3   There is also another (Sibyl) from Erythrae, called Herophila.<sup>3</sup> Heraclides Ponticus mentions these in his (treatise) *On Oracles*.

<sup>1</sup> Orpheus, see **111**.

<sup>2</sup> Phrygian, see **114** n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the Sibyl from Erythrae (a city in Asia Minor, opposite the island of Chios) called Herophila, see below **120C** n. 1. It seems that Heraclides was the first to introduce the distinction of the two sibyls mentioned here, see Rohde, vol. 2, p. 66 n. 1. Herophila was also the name of a prophetess in Delphi who foretold the Trojan war: Paus. 10.12.2. In *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* F 1 (p. 60.31–2 Erbse) Herophila is one name of the Sibyl of Cumae.

**120A** Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.6.8; 12 (p.24.3–4, 25.11–14 Heck-Wlosok)

(Varro<sup>1</sup> wrote that) furthermore the Sibyls have been ten in number, and he has listed them all under the authors who have  
12 written about each of them ... The eighth was the Hellespontian Sibyl, born in the Trojan plain in the village Marmessus near the town Gergithium. Heraclides Ponticus wrote that she lived



Ponticus Solonis et Cyri fuisse temporibus.

5

1 *Decem Sibyllae*: Ael. Var. hist. 12.35, contradicit Mart. Cap. 2.159 3-4 Cf. Dion. Hal. Antiquit. 1.55.4; Mart. Cap. 2.159: Herophilam (cf. **119** adn. ad v. 9) Troianam Mermessi filiam

4 Marmesso cf. app. crit. **120B** v.2 sciba: ba in ras. KS: scribit *H<sup>2</sup>WR<sup>2</sup>*  
 eraclidus *K* 5 solonicus *K<sup>1</sup>S* cyrii *DVP*

**120B** Scholion in Platonis Phaedrum 244B (p.80 Greene)

<sup>131b</sup> W ὀγδόη (scil. Σίβυλλα) ἡ Ἑλλησποντία, ἥτις ἐν κώμῃ Μαρμισσῶ τὴν γένεσιν ἔσχεν περὶ τὴν πολίχνην Γεργετίωνα· ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν δὲ αὕτη τῆς Τροίας ἐτύγχανεν. ἦν ἐν καιρῷ Σόλωνος καὶ Κύρου, ὡς ἔγραψεν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

5

1 *Sibylla Marpessi genita, vivens ante Troianum bellum*: Paus. 10.12.2-4

2 Μαρμισσῶ codd. (cf. Steph. Byz. 445.15-7 Μερμήσσοις), at vid. testim. ad **120C** v.2 2-3 Γεργετίωνα: Γεργίθιον **120C**, ubi vid. app. crit. ad v.2 3 (ἦν) - 5 (ὁ Ποντικός) add. vulg.

**120C** Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta, fr. 1 (BT p. 60.34-61.37 Erbse)

<sup>131c</sup> W ὀγδόη (scil. Σίβυλλα) ἡ Ἑλλησποντία τεχθεῖσα ἐν κώμῃ Μαρπησσῶ περὶ τὴν πολίχνην Γεργίθιον, αἱ τῆς ἐνορίας ποτὲ τῆς Τρωάδος ἐτύγχανον, ἐν καιροῖς Σόλωνος καὶ Κύρου, ὡς ἔγραψεν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

= *Anonymus Vindobonensis in: E. Maass, De Sibyllarum Indicibus Dissertatio, Greifswald 1879, p.39, cf. p.43* 1-4 (Κύρου) cf. *Suda* Σ 361 s.v. Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία (t.4, p.355.1-3) Adler 2 Μαρπησσῶ, cf. Paus. 10.12.3-4; *Suda* M 225 s.v. Μάρπησσοις (t.3, p.330.22) Adler; Tib. 2.5.67-8 Marpesia Herophile 2-3 Γεργίθιον, cf. Str. 13 589 (t.3, p.550.30 Radt); Steph. Byz. s.v. Γέργις *Gergithium in Troade situm*: Hdt. 5.122.2

2 (αἱ) - 3 (ἐτύγχανον) *D' Suda*: ἥτις ἐνορία ποτὲ τρωάδος ἐτύγχανεν Φ



at the time of Solon<sup>2</sup> and Cyrus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See **19A** n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For Solon, see **32–5**.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrus I, 6th century B.C., was the founder of the Persian empire.

**120B** Scholion on Plato's *Phaedrus* 244B (p.80 Greene)

The eighth (*sc.* Sibyl) (is) the Hellespontian, who was born in the village Marmissus<sup>1</sup> near the small town Gergetion, which happened to be in the territory of Troy. She lived at the time of Solon and Cyrus, as Heraclides Ponticus wrote.

<sup>1</sup> For the spelling Marmissus (Μαρμισσόζ), see *Suda* σ 1361 under Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία (v. 4, p. 355.1 Adler).

**120C** *Fragments of the Theosophers*, fr. 1 (*BT* p.60.34–61.37 Erbse)

The eighth (*sc.* Sibyl), the Hellespontian, was born in the village Marpessus<sup>1</sup> near the small town Gergithium, which once happened to be within the boundaries of the Troad, in the time of Solon and Cyrus, as Heraclides Ponticus has written.

<sup>1</sup> This is the spelling in the *Suda* μ 225 under Μάρπησσοζ (v. 3, p. 330.22 Adler). It is the original form ("die alte Form", Erbse 1941, 38 n. 93). The source of Paus. 10.12.3–4 claimed that the Sibyl of Marpessus was the Erythraean (**119** n. 3), called after the red (in Greek ἐρυθρά, *erythra*) soil around Marpessus. Cp. Stephanus of Byzantium (445.15–7 Meineke) under "Mermessus."



**121** Scholion in Pindari Olympionicas 6.119 (t.1, p.180.3–8 Drachmann)

<sup>135</sup> W τὸ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων μαντεύεσθαι. οὕτως δὲ μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἰαμίδαι μαντεύονται, ἔμπυρα θύματα τιθέντες ἐν τῷ βωμῷ. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρησμῶν τοῖς δέρμασί φησιν αὐτοὺς μαντεύεσθαι ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν δερμάτων, πότερον εὐθείαι εἰσιν ἢ οὐ.

5

*Cf. Schol. in Pind. Ol. 6.111d (t.1, p.179.3–7 Drachmann)*

3 χρησμῶν *codd.* (vid. **17** (54b)): χρηστηρίων *Müller FHG (t.2), p.197 adn.3 (in p. 198) (vid. 17 (54a))* 4 εἰς τὰς *suppl. Boeckh (ex V)*

**122A** Scholion in Hesiodi Scutum 70 (p.26–7 Ranke)

<sup>137a</sup> W Παγασαίου. Πάγασος, πόλις καὶ τόπος τῆς Θετταλίας, ὠνομασμένος παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὴν πεπῆχθαι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων, διὰ τὸ ἐν Παγασαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ιδρύσθαι.

*Scholia in Hesiodi Scutum attribuuntur Diacono Pediasimo (A.D. 14), vid. Rzach, RE t. VIII 1, col. 1228*

3–4 χρηστηρίων τὸν ἐν Παγασαῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ιδρύσθαι φησι *ed. Bas. 1542 (ex cod. Cantabr.)*

**122B** Etymologicon Magnum s.v. Παγασαῖος (col. 1833 646.39–41 Gaisford) cum additamento cod. Laurentiani 304 B St. Marci (E. Miller, Mélanges de Littérature Grecque, Paris 1868, p.233)

<sup>137b</sup> W ΠΑΓΑΣΑΙΟΣ λέγεται ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ Παγάσης. ἔστι δὲ τόπος τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ πόλις, παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὴν πεπῆχθαι. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων, διὰ τὸ ἐν Παγασαῖς ὃ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τροφωνίου ιδρύσθαι.



- 121** Scholion on Pindar's *Olympian* 6.119 (v.1, p.180.3–8 Drachmann)

Making prophecies through burnt offerings: The Iamidae<sup>1</sup> prophesy in this way up to the present day, by placing burnt offerings on the altar. Heraclides says in his (treatise) *On Oracles* that they prophesy by the skins, looking at the clefts of the skins (to see), whether or not these are straight.

<sup>1</sup> The Iamidae were a family of seers in Elis who prophesied at Olympia.

- 122A** Scholion on Hesiod's *Shield of Heracles* 70 (p.26–7 Ranke)

Of Pagasaeon (Apollo): Pagasus<sup>1</sup> is a city and a place in Thessaly so named because there the Argo had been built.<sup>2</sup> Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Oracles* (says it is so named) because the (sanctuary) of Apollo in Pagasae had been founded by Trophonius.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pagasae (later Pagasus) was a city in Thessaly, on the north coast of the gulf of Pagasae, near Demetrias.

<sup>2</sup> πεπηχθαι (*pepêchthai*). Cp. Strabo 9.5.15 436: according to legend, the place was so named because the Argo was built (ναυ-πηγία, *nau-pêgia*) there; for Strabo more credibly the name is explained from the many springs (πηγαί, *pêgai*) there.

<sup>3</sup> Trophonius, cp. **143**.

- 122B** *Great Etymological Lexicon* under “Pagasaeon” (col.1833 646.39–41 Gaisford) with addition of the Laurentian codex 304 B of St. Marc (E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868, p.233)

Apollo is called PAGASAEAN after Pagase. This is a place in Thessaly and a city, (named) from the fact that the Argo had been built<sup>1</sup> there. Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Oracles* (says it is so named) because the (oracle) that is in Pagasae had been founded by Trophonius.

<sup>1</sup> In Greek πεπηχθαι (*pepêchthai*). See **122A** n. 2.



- 123** Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, *De declinatione nominum*, *Περὶ τῶν εἰς ἡς* (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. post., p.690.5–11 Lentz)

<sup>138</sup> W τὸ γὰρ κύριον ὄνομα τὸ Πέρσης εἰς ἡ ἔχει τὴν κλητικὴν οἶον ὦ Πέρση ὡς παρ' Ἑσιόδῳ.

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῶ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ.

σημειούμεθα παρ' Ἑρακλείδῃ ἐν τοῖς *Περὶ χρησμῶν*, ὅτι περ καὶ λέγουσί τινες πεπλασμένον εἶναι, τὸ

[ὦ] Πέρση ποικιλόδιφρε † ἰδὼν † ἄπο χειρὸς ἔχεσθαι.

ἔστι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐθνικὸν καὶ εἰς ἡ καταλήγει ἡ κλητικὴ.

= Georg. Choeroboscus Schol. in *Theodosii Alexandrini Canones isagogicos de flexione nominum, masc. 4* (GG t.4.1 p.163.29–37 Hilgard); *Theodosius Canones*, in: Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* t.3, p.1189 no.21 3 Hes. op. 27 6–7 = Parke-Wormell no. 99

5 πεπλασμένον VP: πεπλανημένον NC: πεπλανημένα Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* l.1 6 ὦ NC: *unius litterae rasura* V: om. P ἰδὼν VP: ἴνδ' N: ἴν' C: ἱερῶν Parke

- 124** Zenobius, *Centuria* 2.84 (CPG, t.1, p.53.18–23 Leutsch-Schneidewin)

<sup>136</sup> W Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο· αὕτη καταρατικὴ ἐστίν. Ἑρακλείδης γὰρ φησί, μαντευομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις περὶ πολέμου ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ προφήτις ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ἔσεσθαι. εἰς δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν ἀρπάσας Μυρτίλαν τὴν προφήτιν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς θερμοῦ παρακείμενον λέβητα.

Cf. *Dicaearch. fr. 82 Mirhady*; *Ephorus FGrH* 70 F 119; *Plut. Cent. 1.9* (CPG t.1, p.322); *Append. 3.97* (ibid. p.434–5); *Procl. Bibl. in: Phot. Bibl. 321b34–322a13* (t.5, p.164–5 Henry); *Eur. TrGF* (t.5, pars 1, p.407) F 368

1 μαντεύσαιο: μαντεύσαις B: μαντεύσειας *Plut. l.c*

- 125** Plutarchus, *De Iside et Osiride* 27 361E–F (BT t.2, fasc. 3, p.26.20–4 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

<sup>139</sup> W οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι καὶ Ἴσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν, ὡς Ἀρχέμαχος εἶρηκεν ὁ Εὐβοεὺς



- 123** Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On the Declension of Nouns*, “On words (nouns) ending in -ês” (GG part 3, v.2, fasc. post. p.690.5–11 Lentz)

The proper name Perses has its vocative ending in an ê (*êta*), for example, Oh *Persê*, as in Hesiod:

Oh *Persê*, store this in your heart.

We notice in Heraclides in his (treatise) *On Oracles* that some people in fact say that the (following) verse was forged:

[Oh] *Persê* (i.e., Persian) of the multi-colored chariot,  
†looking† ... (to) keep your hands off.

For here we have the name of a nation and the vocative ends in an ê (*êta*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Whereas it should end in a short *a* (Πέρσᾱ).

- 124** Zenobius, *Centuria* 2.84 (CPG, v.1, p.53.18–23 Leutsch-Schneidewin)

Prophesize to the Boeotians: This one is a curse. For Heraclides says that when the Boeotians were consulting the oracle about a war, the prophetess at Dodona<sup>1</sup> answered that they would gain victory if they committed sacrilege. So one of the envoys seized the priestess Myrtila and threw her into a cauldron of hot water that was standing nearby.

<sup>1</sup> Dodona, in Epirus, north-western Greece, was the site of an oracle.

- 125** Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 27 361E–F (BT v.2, fasc. 3, p.26.20–4 Nachstädt-Siebeking-Titchener)

For people say that Sarapis<sup>1</sup> is none other than Pluto<sup>2</sup> and Isis (none other than) Persephone (Persephassa), as Archemachus



καὶ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανώβῳ  
F Πλούτωνος ἡγούμενος εἶναι.

1 *De Sarapide* vid. *Clem. Al. Protr.* 4.48; *Tac. Hist.* 4.83–4 (84.3: sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum); *Origen. C. Cels.* 5.38 *De Sarapide et Plutone* vid. *Plut. De sollert. anim.* 36 984A-B; *de Iside et Persephone* vid. *Apul. Metam.* 11.5 2 *Archemachos* = *FGrH* 424 F 6

2 τὴν *codd.*: ἢ τὴν *Reiske* 3 ἡράκλειτος *codd.*: *corr. Xylander*

## 126 Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.57.130 (BT p.74.11–18 Giomini)

141 W etenim Ceos accepimus ortum Caniculae diligenter quot-  
annis solere servare coniecturamque capere, ut scribit Ponti-  
cus Heraclides, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit. nam  
si obscurior <et> quasi calignosa stella extiterit, pingue et con-  
cretum esse caelum, ut eius adspiratio gravis et pestilens futura 5  
sit; sin inlustris et perlucida stella apparuerit, significari caelum  
esse tenue purumque et propterea salubre.

1 etenim *Cantabr. et Reg. teste Davisio: ita coni. Manutius*: ut enim *codd.*  
1–2 quod (*corr.* in quot *M*) annis (quodannis *corr.* in quotannis *F*) *BMF* 4  
et quasi *Davies ex codd. Cantabr. et Reg.*: quasi *codd.* 4–5 extiterit – aspi-  
ratio *mg. add. m. alt. B* 6 si illustris *V* apparuit *V* significare *BM*  
7 purumque *ex puerumque B*

## De Philosophis et Sapientibus (127–32)

Adversus Democritum] 17 (20)

Adversus doctrinas Zenonis, liber unus] 17 (26)



the Euboean<sup>3</sup> has said and Heraclides Ponticus, who thinks the  
F oracle in Canopus<sup>4</sup> belongs to Pluto.

<sup>1</sup> Sarapis (later called Serapis) was an Egyptian god whose cult was advanced under Ptolemy I Soter (*ca.* 367/6–283/2 B.C.), the successor of Alexander the Great. The foundation of this cult is dated to the last years of the reign of Ptolemy I, that is at least a generation after Heraclides' death. However, the oracle in Canopus mentioned by Heraclides need not be related to the cult of Sarapis as established by Ptolemy I, but might refer to Osiris with whom Sarapis had close links; see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols., Oxford 1972), v. 1, p. 246–57; v. 2, p. 405–6, n. 515. Schrader, *Philologus* 44, 1885, 283 n. 3, considers the possibility that this fragment belongs to Heraclides Ponticus the younger who, according to the *Etymol. Gudianum* p. 297.49–51, wrote about Canobus, after whom this place was named (Strab. 17.1.17 801). Sarapis was likened to various Greek gods, among them Zeus, Dionysus and Hades, see Diod. Sic. 1.25.2.

<sup>2</sup> Pluto is a different name for the deity Hades.

<sup>3</sup> Archemachus the Euboean, probably of the 3rd century B.C., was author of a local history of Euboea; the fragments are collected in *FGrH* 424.

<sup>4</sup> Canopus (Greek: Κάνωβος, *Kanobos*) was a city at the mouth of the Nile and an important religious center.

## 126 Cicero, *On Divination* 1.57.130 (*BT* p.74.11–8 Giomini)

We have been told that the people of Ceos, for example, are accustomed to observe the rising of the dog star closely every year and to base on it a conjecture, as Heraclides Ponticus writes, whether the coming year is to be one of health or plague. For if the star has risen rather dimly and as if in a haze, this signifies that the heaven is thick and solid, with the result that what one breathes in from it will be heavy and unwholesome. But if the star has appeared brilliant and very clear, this signifies that the sky is fine and pure and therefore healthy.

## Philosophers and Wise Men (127–32)

*In Reply to Democritus*] 17 (20)

*In Reply to the doctrines of Zeno*, one book] 17 (26)



Adversus doctrinas Metronis, liber unus] **17** (27)  
 Heracliti explicationes, libri quattuor] **17** (41)  
 Adversus Democritum explicationes, liber unus] **17** (42)  
 Adversus Dionysium, liber unus] **17** (48)  
 De Pythagoreis] **17** (50)  
 Zoroastres] **17** (56)  
 Abaris] **17** (57a,b)  
 De bono, liber unus] **17** (25)

De Heraclide Platonis lectiones de bono audiente et excipiente,  
 vid. **9**

- 127** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.15 (BT t.1, p.641.7–11 Marcovich)

<sup>39</sup> W πλείστοί τε εἰσιν, ὅσοι ἐξηγήνται αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἡρακλείτου) τὸ σύγγραμμα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Κλεάνθης τε [ὁ Ποντικὸς] καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Πausανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδωτος. 5

= Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 51 White      2 Antisthenes Heracliteus: Diog. Laert. 6.19 = 66 A 1 (t.2, p.70) DK      3 Cleanthes: hic locus deest in SVF t.1 Sphaerus: hic locus deest in SVF t.1. Sphaerus scripsit quinque libros de Heraclito: Diog. Laert. 7.178      4–5 Pausanias Heracliteus; Nicomedes; Dionysius vid. 22 A 1 (t.1, p.142.30) DK      5 Diodotus Diog. Laert. 9.12

3 ὁ Ποντικὸς *del.* Bake      4 Ἡρακλειτιστής PF: Ἡρακλείτης τῆς B: Ἡρακλείδης D

- 128** Porphyrius, De abstinentia 1.26.2–4 (p.60–1 Bouffartigue)

<sup>40</sup> W ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀσεβὲς τὸ κτείνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν, δηλοῖ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πυθαγόραν, τῶν μὲν πάλαι διδόντων γάλα πίνειν τοῖς ἀθλοῦσι καὶ τυροὺς δὲ ἐσθίειν ὕδατι βεβρεγμένους, τῶν δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ταύτην μὲν ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν δίαιταν, διὰ <δὲ> τῶν ξηρῶν σύκων τὴν τροφήν ποιουμένων τοῖς 5  
 ἀθληταῖς, πρῶτον περιελόντα τὴν ἀρχαίαν κρέα διδόναι



*In Reply to the doctrines of Metron*, one book] **17** (27)  
*Expositions of Heraclitus*, four books] **17** (41)  
*Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book] **17** (42)  
*In Reply to Dionysius*, one book] **17** (48)  
*On the Pythagoreans*] **17** (50)  
*Zoroaster*] **17** (56)  
*Abaris*] **17** (57a, b)  
*On the Good*, one book] **17** (25)

For Heraclides being present at and writing up Plato's lectures *On the Good*, see **9**.

- 127** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.15 (BT v.1, p.641.7–11 Marcovich)

And there are a great many who have explained his (Heraclitus') work. For (among them are) Antisthenes<sup>1</sup> and Heraclides Ponticus and Cleanthes<sup>2</sup> and Sphaerus the Stoic,<sup>3</sup> and in addition the Pausanias who is called Heraclitean, and Nicomedes and Dionysius,<sup>4</sup> and of the grammarians Diodotus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Antisthenes, see *DPhA* 1 A 218.

<sup>2</sup> Cleanthes of Assos, ca. 331–232 B.C., was a student of Zeno (cp. **5**) and became his successor as head of the Stoic school. The fragments are collected in *SVF* v. 1, p. 103–39; see *DPhA* 2 C 138.

<sup>3</sup> Sphaerus the Stoic, of Borysthenes, 3rd century B.C., was a student of Zeno and Cleanthes. The fragments are collected in *SVF* v. 1, p. 139–42.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysius, see *DPhA* 2 D 169.

<sup>5</sup> The grammarian Diodotus, about whose lifetime we have no information, interpreted Heraclitus' work and wanted it to be understood as referring not to nature, but to the political constitution, see *DPhA* 2 D 135.

- 128** Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 1.26.2–4 (p.60–1 Bouffartigue)

That it is not impious to kill and to eat (animals) is demonstrated by the following story about Pythagoras<sup>1</sup> himself. People in ancient times used to give athletes milk to drink and cheese soaked in water to eat, while their successors disapproved of this diet and prepared nourishment for their athletes consisting of



τοῖς γυμναζομένοις καὶ πολὺ διαφέρουσιν πρὸς ἰσχὺν  
 3 εὐρεῖν δύναμιν. ἱστοροῦσι δέ τινες καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄπτεσθαι τῶν  
 4 ἐμψύχων τοὺς Πυθαγορείους, ὅτε θύοιεν θεοῖς. τοιαῦτα μὲν  
 δὴ τὰ παρὰ Κλωδίῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ Ποντικῷ Ἐρμάρχῳ 10  
 τε τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ τοῦ Περιπάτου,  
 ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀπηγγέλθη, περιείληπται.

1–8 cf. Favorin. fr. 44 et fr. 58 Barigazzi; Porph. Vita Pyth. 15 2–9 Diog.  
 Laert. 8.12 8 (ἱστοροῦσι) sqq.: Arist. fr. 194 R<sup>3</sup>; Gell. Noct. Att. 4.11.1–12;  
 Diog. Laert. 8.20; Porph. Vita Pyth. 34; 36; id. De abst. 2.28; Iambl. Vita  
 Pyth. 85; 98; Plut. Quaest. conv. 3 729C; Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 28, at cf. infra  
 149 vv. 15–16 10–11 Hermarch. fr. 34 Longo Auricchio

5 δὲ add. Hercher τῶν abesse mavult Nauck 10 δὲ Nauck: καὶ codd.  
 Ἐρμάρχῳ Bernays (Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit, Berlin 1886,  
 p.139): Ἐρμάχῳ codd.

## 129 Ioannes Lydus, De Mensibus 4.42 (BT p.99.17–23 Wünsch)

41 W ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης φησίν, ὥς εἴ τις τὸν κύαμον  
 ἐν καινῇ θήκῃ ἐμβαλὼν ἀποκρύψει τῇ κόπρῳ ἐπὶ τεσσαρά-  
 κοντα πάσας ἡμέρας, εἰς ὅψιν ἀνθρώπου σεσαρκωμένου  
 μεταβαλόντα τὸν κύαμον εὐρήσει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποιητὴν  
 φάναι 5  
 ἰσὸν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλὰς τε τοκήων.

Cf. Hippolyt. Haer. 2.14 (Marvovich); Pythagor. Texts p.159.10–4 Thesleff  
 6 = fr. 291 Orphicorum Fragmenta Kern, cf. Plut. Quaest. conviv. 2.1 635E;  
 Clem. Al. Strom. 3.3 24.2 ἰσὸν τοι κυάμους τρώγειν κεφαλὰς τε τοκήων;  
 Ath. 2.72 65F ἴσον καὶ κυάμων τε τρώγειν κεφαλῶν τε οὐ τοκήων  
 μόνον ...; Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. hypoth. 3.224. De Pythagora iubente fabis absti-  
 nere vid. Empedocl. 31 B 141 DK; Cic. De div. 1.30.62; Callim. fr. 553 Pf.;  
 Luc. Dial. mort. 20.3

1 Ποντικὸς om. X 2 κενὴ X

## 130 Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 1 14E (BT t.1, p.28.4–11 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

73 W ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λεγομένων οἱ σφόδρα νέοι τοῖς



dried figs. Pythagoras was the first to abolish the ancient diet and give meat to athletes in training, and to discover a far superior  
 3 source of strength. Some record that the Pythagoreans themselves, too, touched (*i.e.*, ate) living creatures when they sacrificed  
 4 to the gods. Such are the things (found) in Clodius<sup>2</sup> and Heraclides Ponticus and Hermarchus the Epicurean<sup>3</sup> and those writers from the Stoa and the Peripatos, in which are included also those of your stories that have been reported to us.

<sup>1</sup> See 25 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Clodius Sextus from Sicily was a contemporary of Cicero. In Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 1.3.3 a book against vegetarians is ascribed to a Clodius of Naples. For the identity see Brzoska *RE* IV 1, col. 66–7 (Clodius 13), see *DPhA* 2 C 176.

<sup>3</sup> Hermarchus of Mytilene, the Epicurean, was a younger contemporary and student of Epicurus whom he succeeded as head of the Epicurean school, cp. *Vit. Epicur.* 15 (p. 367.2–3 Usener); 25 (p. 369.14 Usener), see *DPhA* 3 H 75.

**129** John of Lydia, *On Months* 4.42 (*BT* p.99.17–23 Wunsch)

Heraclides Ponticus says that if somebody throws a bean into a new coffin and covers it with dung for a full forty days, he will find that the bean has changed into the appearance of a human in full flesh. And (he continues) this is why the poet said:

It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents.

**130** Plutarch, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 1 14E (*BT* v.1, p.28.4–11 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

It is clear to us that very young men enjoy, among the dis-



μὴ δοκοῦσι φιλοσόφως μηδ' ἀπὸ σπουδῆς λέγεσθαι χαίρου-  
σι μᾶλλον καὶ παρέχουσιν ὑπηκόους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χειροή-  
θεις, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ Αἰσώπεια μυθάρια  
καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὸν Ἄβαριν τὸν Ἡρακλεί- 5  
δου καὶ τὸν Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀρίστωνος διερχόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τὰ περὶ ψυχῶν δόγματα μεμιγμένα μυθολογία μεθ' ἡδονῆς  
ἐνθουσιῶσιν.

= *Lyco fr. 23 SFOD; Arist. Dialogi IV (p.44.27–45.5) R<sup>3</sup>*      6 *Lyco Aristonis: SdA (t.6) fr. 33*

5 ἀλλὰ *post* ὑποθέσεις *m. post. in α*      6 ἀλλὰ καὶ *inserunt G<sup>2</sup>X<sup>3</sup>V*: <καὶ>  
τὰ <ἄλλα> *Crönert*

**131** Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.178. 27–31 Bekker)

<sup>74</sup> W      ὑλακτῶ· αἰτιατικῇ. Ἡρακλείδου Ποντικοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευ-  
τέρου λόγου τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων· ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
ἐγγὺς φωλεῶν ἐξείρπυσαν ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα σφοδρῶς  
ὀρούοντες. ἐκωλύοντο μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ὑλακτούντων  
αὐτούς.' 5

**132** Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.145. 21–7 Bekker)

<sup>75</sup> W      ἐπιστρέφομαι ... Ἡρακλείδου Ποντικοῦ τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν  
ἀναφερομένων· ἔφη δὲ τὸ δένδρον αὐτῷ τὸν δαίμονα, νεα-  
νίαν γενόμενον, ἐπιθεῖναι, προστάξει δὲ πιστεύειν περὶ θε-  
ῶν, ὥς εἰσὶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστρέφονται πραγ-  
μάτων.' 5

3–4 *credere deos existere, cf. Plat. Leg. 10.890D5*      4–5 *credere deos curare de rebus humanis, cf. Plat. Leg. 10.885B; 900B; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 217*

2 δένδρον *codd.*: δεύτερον *Wehrli*      3 ἐπιθεῖναι *codd.*: ἐπιδείξει *Cors-*  
---->



courses in philosophy, more the ones that seem not to be expressed philosophically, or even seriously, and that they offer themselves as a receptive and amenable audience of these. For in reading through not only Aesop's fables and the stories of the poets and Heraclides' *Abaris* and Ariston's *Lyco*, but also the doctrines about souls mixed with mythology, they are inspired as well as delighted.

- 131** *Seguerian Lexica, On Syntax (Anecdota Graeca v.1, p.178.27–31 Bekker)*

I bark: with the accusative case. From Heraclides Ponticus's second book of *What is attributed to Abaris*:<sup>1</sup> "Out of the nearby holes crept forth snakes, charging vehemently at his body. But they were stopped by the dogs barking at them."

<sup>1</sup> τῶν εἰς Ἀβάρην ἀναφερομένων: this might imply an indication that the utterances attributed to Abaris (cp. Lévy 1926, 24) did not necessarily contain authentic material but were rather fictitious, cp. Diog. Laert. 8.8: Ion of Chios said that Pythagoras composed some poems and attributed (ἀνενεγκεῖν) them to Orpheus, cf. Hirzel 1895, T. 1, p. 329 n. 3.

- 132** *Seguerian Lexica, On Syntax (Anecdota Graeca v.1, p.145.21–7 Bekker)*

I pay attention to: ... From Heraclides Ponticus's *What is attributed to Abaris*. "He said that the divine spirit, having become a young man, placed the tree upon him and ordered him to believe about the gods that they exist and pay attention to human affairs."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the various attempts to change the Greek text and to interpret this fragment, see Gottschalk pp. 119–21.

*sen, RhM 67 (1912) 28*  
ὅτι ὥς οἶόν τε *Bekker*

4 ὥς εἰσὶν τε *Lévy 1926, 26*: ὥς οἶόν τε *cod.*:



## Descriptiones Terrae et Morum (133–40)

De insulis] 17 (53)

- 133** Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De prosodia catholica liber 8 (GG pars 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.4–6 Lentz)

<sup>124</sup> W Ὡλίαρος· νῆσος τῶν Κυκλάδων μία, περὶ ἧς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων οὕτω φησὶν· Ὡλίαρος Σιδωνίων ἀποικία ἀπέχουσα Πάρου σταδίους ιη΄. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὡλιάριος, ὡς Ἄμυρος Ἀμύριος.

= *Steph. Byzant. s.v. Ὡλίαρος* (p.708.9–12 Meineke)

3 ιη΄ *PpRV*: μή *Pr*: πεντήκοντα ὀκτώ *A*: νή *W*

- 134** Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos (Σ 48) Στρώμη (p.242 Keaney)

<sup>125</sup> W Στρώμη· ... Ἡρακλείδης ἢ Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων φησὶν· ἀποικίαι δέ εἰσι Θασίων <ἐπὶ> τῆς Θράκης Γαληψὸς καὶ Στρώμη ἢ νῆσος.

1 *Philostephanus: FHG* (t.3, p.32) fr. 19      2–3 Γαληψός *Phot. Lex. Γ 15; Suda Γ 38* (t.1, p.506.28–9) *Adler* (v.l. Γαλιψός); *Steph. Byz. s.v.*

2 ἐπὶ *add. Bekker*      3 ἢ νῆσος *om. C*

- 135A** Plinius, Naturalis historia 4.23.70 (BT t.1, p.330.10–13 Ian-Mayhoff)

<sup>126</sup> W Melos cum oppido, quam Aristides Mimblida appellat, Aristoteles Zephyriam, Callimachus Mimallida, Heraclides Siphin et



Descriptions of Lands and Customs (133–40)

*On Islands*] 17 (53)

- 133** Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Universal Prosody*, Book 8 (*GG* part 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.4–6 Lentz)

Oliaros:<sup>1</sup> One island in the Cyclades, about which Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Islands* says this: Oliaros is a colony of the Sidonians eighteen stades distant from Paros. The name of one of its people is Oliarian, just as someone from Amyros<sup>2</sup> (is named) an Amyrian.

<sup>1</sup> Oliaros was an island in the Cyclades: Strabo 10.5.3 485.

<sup>2</sup> Amyros was a city on the Magnesian peninsula in Thessaly.

- 134** Harpocraton, *Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators* (Σ 48) under “Stryme” (p.242 Keaney)

Stryme: ... Heraclides or Philostephanus<sup>1</sup> in his (treatise) *On Islands* says: Galepsus<sup>2</sup> and the island Stryme are colonies of the Thasians in Thrace.

<sup>1</sup> Philostephanus of Cyrene was a student of Callimachus. He was the author of geographical and antiquarian works, dealing with aetiological and marvelous topics, among them *On Islands* (this title: *FHG* 3, fr. 11; all fragments of this work: *ibid.* 10–19, p. 30–4).

<sup>2</sup> Situated on the coast of Thrace, south-east of the mouth of the river Strymon.

- 135A** Pliny, *Natural History* 4.23.70 (*BT* v.1, p.330.10–13 Ian-Mayhoff)

Melos<sup>1</sup> has a city (of the same name). Aristides calls (the island of Melos) Mimblis, Aristotle Zephyria, Callimachus Mimallis, and Heraclides Siphis and Acyta. This is the most cir-



Acytan; haec insularum rotundissima est.

1 *Aristides FGrH 444 F 6*    1–2 *Arist. fr. 555 R<sup>3</sup>*    2 *Zephyria: Steph. Byz. s.v. Μῆλος (p.450.9–11 Meineke)*    *Callim. fr. 582 Pf.; Solin. Coll. rer. memorab. 11.32, cf. Hsch. s.v. Μίμαλις*

2 *siphin AR: sipin da: syphin F<sup>2</sup> E<sup>2</sup>: sypin F<sup>1</sup>: sypina E<sup>1</sup>: siphnum editores veteres*    3 *acytan Detlefsen (ed. Plinii 1866): acyton Hermolaus Barbarus e Steph. Byz.: Acita RE<sup>1</sup>a: acitia AE<sup>2</sup>: acitiam editores veteres*

**135B** Plinius, *Naturalis historia* I (iv) (BT t.1, p.15.47, 16.49, 17.10 Ian-Mayhoff)

L. III CONTINENTUR ... (EX AUCTORIBUS) EXTERNIS  
... Heraclide

*Cf. 91B*

**136** Suda N 27 s.v. Ναξία (glossa marginalis) (LG t.3, p.436.1–4 Adler)

127 W    ... καὶ Κυκλὰς δὲ νῆσος ἐπίσημος ἢ Νάξος, ἢ ἀπὸ τινος Νάξου ἢ παρὰ τὸ νάξαι, ὃ ἐστὶ θῦσαι. φασὶ δὲ τὰς ἐκεῖ Ναξίας γυναῖκας μόνας ὀκτάμηνα τίκτειν κατὰ δωρεὰν Ἑρας. καὶ Διόνυσος δέ, φασίν, οὕτως ἐτέχθη. καὶ κρήνη δὲ καθ' Ἑρακλείδην ἐκεῖ, ἐξ ἧς οἶνος ῥεῖ μάλα ἡδύς. 5

1–2 ἀπὸ τινος Νάξου : ἀπὸ τοῦ Νάξου Καρῶν ἡγεμόνος (*cf. Diod. 5.51.3*). ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ Νάξου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος *Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάξος (p.468.7–9 Meineke)*

**137A** *Paradoxographus Vaticanus Graecus* 12, *Admiranda* 13 (p.334.39–42 Giannini)

128a W    Ἑρακλείδης [φησὶ] τὴν ἐν Σαυρομάταις λίμνην οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρνέων ὑπεραίρειν φησί, τὸ δὲ προσελθὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τελευτᾶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἄορνιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δοκεῖ



cular of the islands.

<sup>1</sup> Listing the group of islands in the Aegean called the Sporades, Pliny mentions Melos. Melos does, however, not belong to the Sporades, but to the Cyclades, as Strabo 10.5.3 485 and Stephanus of Byzantium under Μηλος rightly locate it.

**135B** Pliny, *Natural History* I (iv) (*BT* v.1, p.15.47, 16.49, 17.10 Ian-Mayhoff)

In Book IV are included ... (from) foreign (authors) ... Heraclides.

**136** *Suda* N 27 under “Naxian (woman)” (marginal note) (*LG* v.3, p.436.1–4 Adler)

... And Naxos is a notable island among the Cyclades, either named from some Naxus or by derivation from “cram full”<sup>1</sup> which is to seethe. People say that the Naxian women there are the only ones who give birth in the eighth month, by a gift from Hera. And they say that Dionysus was born in this way. Also, according to Heraclides, there is a spring there from which flows quite sweet wine.

<sup>1</sup> νάξαι (*naxai*).

**137A** Greek Vatican Paradoxographer 12, *Wondrous Things* 13 (p.334.39–42 Giannini)

Heraclides says that none of the birds flies over the lake in (the land of the) Sauromatae,<sup>1</sup> but any that approaches is killed by the smell. The same is thought to happen around (Lake) Aor-



γίγνεσθαι.

3 *Italia*: Str. 5.4.5 244; Eust. Ad Hom. Od. 10.514 (p.1667.47–51; 63–1668.1); Soph. TrGF (t.4, p.523) F 748 Ἄορνος· λίμνη περὶ Τυρσηνίαν; Varro ap. Plin. Nat. hist. 31.2.21; versus spurius in Verg. Aen. 6.242. Aornus aliis locis situs: Lucr. 6.738–59; Plin. Nat. hist. 4.1.2; Apoll. Rhod. 4.601–3; Etym. M. 115.52–5; Paradoxographus Florentinus Mirabilia de aquis (p.324.95–7 Giannini)

5

1 φησὶ delevit Giannini: alii editores deleverunt φησί (v.2) 3 ἄορνιν V: ἄορνον edd.

**137B** Ps.-Antigonus, Historiarum Mirabilium Collectio 152a/b (p.96.761–98.764 Giannini)

<sup>128b</sup> W τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Σαρμάταις λίμνην Ἡρακλείδην γράφειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρνέων ὑπεραίρειν, τὸ δὲ προσελθὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τελευτᾶν. ὃ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἄορνον δοκεῖ γίγνεσθαι ...

= Timaeus FGrH 566 F 57 (Timaeus obloquitur narrationi de lacu Aorno; de Timaeo Heraclidi contradicente, cf. **94** vv. 10–21); Callim. fr. 407 (XXIV 152) Pf.

2 ὀρνέων Keller (ex Paradox. Vat. no. 13 = **137A**): ὀρνιθων P (accentus erasus) 3 Ἄορνον Geffcken: Ἄορνίν τι Giannini: ἄορνείτιν P: Ἄορνίτιν vulgo: λίμνην e scholio in mg. ΣH addidit Musso 1985, p.65

**137C** Paradoxographus Florentinus, Mirabilia de Aquis (p.320.59–60 Giannini)

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς λίμνην ἐν Σαυρομάταις φησὶν εἶναι, περὶ ἣν τὰ πετασθέντα τῶν ὀρνέων εἰς αὐτὴν πίπτειν.

2 πίπτειν: πίπτει Ideler

**138** Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De orthographia 20 (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. prior p.534.6–9 Lentz)

<sup>129</sup> W Κιμμερίους φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ Πόντου εἶναι. γράφεται καὶ Κερβερίων· καὶ ἔοικε καὶ Σοφοκλῆς περιπεπτωκέναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ γραφῇ· ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀρι-



nis<sup>2</sup> in Italy.

<sup>1</sup> The Sauromatae were a tribe of the Scythians, who lived East of the Tanais river.

<sup>2</sup> Aornis: there was a lake Avernus, near Cumae. Strabo 5.4.5 244 refers to a local myth according to which birds which flew over the lake fell into the water and died there. The account exploits the etymology of the Greek adjective ἄ-ορνος “without birds.” However, already Arist. *Mirabilia* 102 839a12–25 refutes this story.

**137B** Antigonus, *Collection of Marvelous Histories* 152a/b (p.96.761–98.764 Giannini)

That Heraclides writes of the lake in (the land of the) Sarmaetae, that none of the birds flies over it, and any that approaches is killed by the smell. The same is thought to happen around the (Lake) Aornos<sup>1</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> See **137A** n. 2.

**137C** Florentine Paradoxographer, *Marvelous Things about Waters* (p.320.59–60 Giannini)

Heraclides Ponticus says that there is a lake in (the land of the) Sauromatae and that any birds that fly around near to it fall into it.

**138** Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Orthography* 20 (GG part 3, v.2, fasc. prior p.534.6–9 Lentz)

Cimmerians: Heraclides Ponticus<sup>1</sup> says that they (the Cimmerians<sup>2</sup>) live beneath (to the south of) the Black Sea. And (the name) is also written “Cerberians”. It looks as if Sophocles, too, chanced upon such a spelling, and likewise also Aristophanes in



στοφάνης ἐν Βατράχοις · οἶον  
Ἡ Κερβερίους λέγω.

5

= *Etym. M.* s.v. KIMMERIOYΣ (p.513.44–9 Gaisford); *Ps.-Zonar. Lexicon* (p.1208 Tittmann)

1 *De Cimmeriis iuxta Heracleam Ponticam habitantibus* vid. Arr. *FGrH* 156 F 76 2 Κερβερίων *Crates ad Hom. Od.* 11.14 (*Eust.* 1671.2); *Crates fr.* 38a–f (*H.J. Mette, Sphairopoia. Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Krates von Pergamon, München* 1936, p.273–4) 2–3 *Soph. TrGF* (t.4, p.620) F 1069 3–5 *Ar. Ran.* 187

**139** Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, fr. 49 (t.1, p.70.146–50 Edelstein-Kidd)

<sup>69</sup> W μνησθεῖς δὲ τῶν περιπλεῦσαι λεγομένων τὴν Λιβύην, Ἡρόδοτον μὲν οἶεσθαί φησιν (scil. ὁ Ποσειδώνιος) ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθέντας τινὰς τελέσαι τὸν περίπλουν, Ἡρακλείδην δὲ τὸν Ποντικὸν ἐν διαλόγῳ ποιεῖν ἀφιγμένον παρὰ Γέλωνι μάγον τινὰ περιπλεῦσαι φάσκοντα. ἀμάρτυρα δὲ ταῦτ' εἶναι φήσας . . . 5

*ex Str.* 2.3.4 98 (t.1, p.240.13–7 Radt) = *FGrH* 87 (pars 2 A, p.236.20–4) F 28 2 *Her.* 4.42–4

2–3 Δαρείου *codd.* 'error Strabonis vel Posidonii' Müller-Dübnier: Νεκῶ Gosselin Jones, cf. *Hdt.* 4.42 4 Γέλωνι *codd.* Jacoby Theiler: Γέλωνα Korais Edelstein-Kidd

**140** Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, fr. 49 (t.1, p.72.233–4 Edelstein-Kidd)

<sup>70</sup> W θαυμάσιος δὴ κατὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, τὸν μὲν τοῦ μάγου περίπλουν, ὃν Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν, ἀμάρτυρον νομίσας . . .

*ex Str.* 2.3.5 100 (t.1, p.244.24–5 Radt) = *FGrH* 87 (pars 2 A, p.238.22–3) F 28

1 θαυμάσιος *Cobet Radt*: θαυμαστὸς *codd.*, Edelstein-Kidd ὁ Ποσειδώνιος *Casaubonus*: ὅπως *codd.*



*Frogs*, for example:

Obviously I mean Cerberians.

<sup>1</sup> The possibility that this fragment belongs to Heraclides Ponticus the younger cannot be excluded, see Wehrli p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> The Cimmerians are mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 11.13–9 as the people on whom the sun never shines. Driven out from south Russia, they subjected various people in Asia Minor during the 7th century B.C.

**139** Posidonius, *Fragments*, fr. 49 (v.1, p.70.146–50 Edelstein-Kidd)

In mentioning those who are said to have circumnavigated Libya, he (*sc.* Posidonius) says that Herodotus thinks certain persons sent by Darius completed the circumnavigation, and that Heraclides Ponticus in a dialogue makes a certain (Persian) wise man<sup>1</sup> arrive at the court of Gelon<sup>2</sup> and say that he has circumnavigated (Libya). And, after saying that these stories have no witness to confirm them *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Wehrli p. 83 assumes that this wise man from Persia is Zoroaster. In his edition Wehrli has this fragment follow **79**.

<sup>2</sup> Gelon was tyrant of Gela in Sicily *ca.* 491 B.C., and of Syracuse *ca.* 485–478.

**140** Posidonius, *Fragments*, fr. 49 (v.1, p.72.233–4 Edelstein-Kidd)

Indeed Posidonius is amazing (in his attitude) about all this, on the one hand holding that the circumnavigation of the (Persian) wise man, which Heraclides has mentioned, has no witness to confirm it *etc.*



## De Templis Condendis (141–43)

Templa condenda] 17 (55)

**141** Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus ad Graecos* 2.39.8 (p.62.36–8 Marcovich)

<sup>153</sup> W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν φησὶν, ἔνθα τὸ Ἄκτιόν ἐστιν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου τὸ ἱερόν, ταῖς μυῖαις προθύεσθαι βούν.

*Cf. Ael. De nat. anim. 11.8.*

**142A** Strabo, *Geographica* 13.1.48 604.20–32 (t.3, p.590 Radt)

<sup>154</sup> W ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῶζον, ὃ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου. Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου. συνοικιοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν (εἴτε μῦθον) τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν μυῶν. τοῖς γὰρ 5 ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις (οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί) χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονήν, ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται. συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς φασι περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν· νύκτωρ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀρουραίων μυῶν ἐξ- 10 ανθῆσαν διαφαγεῖν, ὅσα σκύτινα τῶν τε ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθι μείναι (τούτους δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰδην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ προσονομάσαι). Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικός πληθύοντάς φησι τοὺς μύας περὶ τὸ ἱερόν νομισθῆναί τε 15 ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ μυί.

*Cf. Ael. De nat. anim. 12.5* 1 *templum Apollinis Sminthi*: *Str. 13.1.63* 612; *Paus. 10.12.5*; *Amm. Marc. 22.8.3* 1–4 *de simulacro* *vid. Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39* (34.13–18) = *t.1, p.56.7–9*; 57.6–7 *van der Valk* 5–13 *vid. Str. 13.1.64* 613.; *Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39* (34.32–35.4) = *t.1, p.56.26–57.6 van der Valk*; *Polemo ap. Clem. Al. Protr. 2.39.7* (*sequitur 141*); *Anon. Comment. in Arist. Rhet. 2.24* (CAG *t.21, pars 2, p.151.13–6*) 7 *Callinus IEG* (t.2) *fr. 7* 12–13 *De nomine Idae* *vid. Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39* (35.4–5) = *t.1, p.57.12–4 van der Valk*; *Eust. Comment. ad Dionys. Perieget. 498* (GGM *t.2, p.310.21–2*)

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# Foundations of Sanctuaries (141–43)

*Foundations of Sanctuaries*] 17 (55)

- 141** Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 2.39.8 (p.62.36–8 Marcovich)

Heraclides in *Foundations of Sanctuaries* says that in the area of Acarnania, where the cape of Actium is located and the sanctuary of Apollo of Actium, a cow is sacrificed first to the flies.

- 142A** Strabo, *Geography* 13.1.48 604.20–32 (v.3, p.590 Radt)

And in this Chrysa is (located) also the sanctuary of Sminthean Apollo,<sup>1</sup> and the symbol which preserves the true meaning of the name, the mouse, lies under the foot of the wooden statue and they are the work of Scopas the Parian. People associate with this place also the story (or myth) about the mice. The Teucrians as they arrived from Crete — Callinus the elegiac poet<sup>2</sup> was the first to pass on this tradition about them, but many followed him — were told by an oracle to establish their permanent abode wherever the earthborn should attack them. And they say that this happened to them in the area around Hamaxitus.<sup>3</sup> For at night a great multitude of field mice burst forth to eat whatever tools and utensils were of leather. And they stayed there, and it was they who also named (Mount) Ida after the one in Crete. And Heraclides Ponticus says that the mice, which were abundant around the sanctuary, were considered sacred, and for this reason the wooden statue was represented as treading on the mouse.

<sup>1</sup> Chryses was priest of the Sminthean Apollo. For his prayer to Apollo, see Hom. *Il.* 1.37 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Callinus of Ephesus lived in the first half of the 7th century B.C. The fragments of his poems are collected in *IEG* vol. 2, pp. 47–50.

<sup>3</sup> Hamaxitus was a city in the Troad, cp. Strab. 9.5.19 440; 13.1.13 612.



**142B** Eustathius, *Commentarius ad Hom. Il.* 1.39 (t.1, p.57.14–17 van der Valk)

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς πληθύνοντάς φησι τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν μῦας νομισθῆναι ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι, βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ μυί. διάφοροι δέ, φησι, τόποι, ἐν οἷς τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα.

1 Ἡρακλέων *codd.*: Ἡρακλείδης *van der Valk in app. crit.*

**143** Suda Λ 867 s.v. Λύσιοι τελεταί (LG t.3, p.302.24–8 Adler)

<sup>155 W</sup> Λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου. Βοιωτοὶ γὰρ ἀλόντες ὑπὸ Θρακῶν καὶ φυγόντες εἰς Τροφωνίου, κατ' ὄναρ ἐκείνου Διόνυσον ἔσεσθαι βοηθὸν φήσαντος, μεθύουσιν ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Θραξίν, ἔλυσαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ Διονύσου Λυσίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, ὥς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. 5

= *Pausanias atticista fr. λ 28* (Erbse, *AbhBerlin* 1950, p.194); *Ar. Byz. fr. 421 Slater*; *Apostol. Cent. 10* (CPG t.2, p.513.14-514.4); *Phot. Lex. s.v. λύσιοι τελεταί* (Λ 482 *Theodoridis*), cf. *Paus. 9.16.6* αἱ τελεταὶ καὶ ... οἱ λύσιοι θεοί *Plat. Rep. 2.366A7*

4 ἔλυσαν: καὶ (δι)ελύθησαν *codd. Apost.*

**Res Antiquae (144–5)**

De inventis] **17** (51)

**144** Orion, *Etymologicum*, cod. Parisinus 2653 (p.118.17–28 Sturz)

<sup>152 W</sup> ὀβολός· τροπὴ τοῦ εἰς ὀ. πρὸ τούτου γὰρ ὀβελίσκοις τραχέσιν ἐνομίστευον τὰ πρὸς σταθμόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες ὀβελός, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀβολός. πρῶτος δὲ πάντων Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ διδοὺς τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἡρᾷ. 5  
ἐπειδὴ τότε οἱ ὀβελίσκοι τὴν χεῖρα ἐπλήρουν, τουτέστι τὴν δράκα, ἡμεῖς καίπερ μὴ πληροῦντες τὴν χεῖρα τοῖς ἔξ ὀβολοῖς δραχμὴν αὐτὴν λέγομεν, παρὰ τὸ δράξασθαι. ὅθεν ἔτι



- 142B** Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer* Il. 1.39 (v.1, p.57.14–17 van der Valk)

Heraclides Ponticus says that the mice around the sanctuary became numerous and were considered sacred, and that for this reason the wooden statue was represented as treading on the mouse. (There are) different places, he says, in which the name of (the Apollo) Smintheus (is found).

- 143** *Suda* Λ (Lambda) 867 under “Liberating Rituals” (*LG* v.3. p.302.24–8 Adler)

The Liberating Rituals: those of Dionysus. For when the Boeotians had been conquered by the Thracians and had fled to the (oracle) of Trophonius,<sup>1</sup> he said to them in a dream that Dionysus would be their helper, and they attacked the Thracians while the latter were drunk, and set each other free. And they founded a sanctuary of Dionysus the Liberator, as Heraclides Ponticus says.

<sup>1</sup> Trophonius, cp. **122A** n. 3.

### Antiquities (144–5)

*On Discoveries*] **17** (51)

- 144** Orion, *Etymologicum*, Paris codex 2653 (p.118.17–28 Sturz)

‘Obolos’: (has arisen) by a changing the ‘e’ into ‘o.’ For formerly they used to use jagged nails for determining weight. The Ionians (say) ‘obelos,’ but we (say) ‘obolos.’ Pheidon of Argos<sup>1</sup> was the first of all to mint coinage in Aegina, and he gave out the coinage and collected the nails and dedicated them to Hera in Argos. Since at that time the nails used to fill the hand, that is, the grasp,<sup>2</sup> we, although we do not fill our hand with the six obols, call this amount a ‘drachma,’ derived from ‘taking by the



καὶ νῦν ὀβολοστάτην καλοῦμεν τὸν τοκιστήν, ἐπειδὴ σταθ-  
μοῖς τοὺς ὀβελίσκους παρεδίδουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. οὕτως Ἡρα- 10  
κλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

= *Arist. fr. 481 R*<sup>3</sup>

1 (τροπή) – 10 ἀρχαῖοι ~ *Etym. M.* 613.10–9 s.v. Ὀβελίσκος 3–4 *De Pheidone primo nummos cudente vid. Ephor. FGrH 70 F 176; Marm. Par. ep. 30 Jacoby* 6–8 cf. *Plut. Lys.* 17.3; *Eust. Ad Hom. Il.* 1.463 (136.9–12) = t.1, p.208.30–209.3 *van der Valk, et ad Il.* 2.336 (421.25–7) = t.1, p.662.7–9 *van der Valk* 10–11 *Disputatur an Heraclides Ponticus posterior, i.e. grammaticus (vid. 1 adn. 23), intelligendus sit, cf. Wehrli p.111; Gottschalk p.162*

**145** Plutarchus, *De gloria Atheniensium* 3 347C (BT t.2, p.126.12–127.1 Nachstädt-Siebeking-Titchener)

<sup>156 W</sup> τὴν τοίνυν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἀπήγγειλεν, ὥς μὲν  
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἱστορεῖ, Θέρσιππος ὁ Ἐρχιεύς· οἱ δὲ  
πλείστοι λέγουσιν Εὐκλέα δραμόντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις θερ-  
μὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐμπεσόντα τῶν πρώτων  
τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπεῖν 'χαίρετε', καὶ 'χαίρομεν', εἴτ' εὐθὺς 5  
ἐκπνεῦσαι.

2 *Thersippus PA 7200; PAA (t.9) 513000*  
436415

3 *Eucles PA 5701; PAA (t.7)*

2 ἔρχιεύς *Wilamowitz (cf. Steph. Byz. p.282 Meineke Ἐρχία ... ὁ δημότης Ἐρχιεύς): ἔρωεύς Ω: ἔρραιάδης LGPN, t.2, p.224: ΕΡΟΙΑΔΗΣ dubitanter Traill PAA (t.9) 513000, cf. Steph. Byz. p.279 Meineke Ἐρραιάδαι ... ὁ δημότης Ἐρραιάδης* 3 ὅπλοις *nota in Aldina: ὀπλίταις codd.* 5  
*χαίρομεν codd.: νικῶμεν Cobet ex Luc. 64 (Pro lapsu inter salutandum) 3*



handful’.<sup>3</sup> This is why even now we call the money lender an ‘obol weigher’,<sup>4</sup> since the ancients used to hand over their nails by the weight. Thus (says) Heraclides Ponticus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pheidon was tyrant of Argos, probably in the middle of the 8th century B.C. According to Hdt. 6.127.3 he reigned after the Olympic games were well established.

<sup>2</sup> “drax” (δράξ).

<sup>3</sup> “draxasthai” (δράξασθαι). Six obols are one drachma.

<sup>4</sup> “obolostaten” (ὀβολοστάτην).

<sup>5</sup> In favor of attributing this statement to Heraclides Ponticus the older and not the younger namesake, the grammarian, is the fact that of the two passages in Eustathius that give the same account as **144** (*Commentary on Homer* Il. 1.463 [136.9–12 = v.1, p.208. 30–209.3 van der Valk] and 2.336 [421.25–7 = v. 1, p. 662.7–9 van der Valk]), the latter is immediately followed by a sentence (v. 1, p. 662.10 van der Valk) giving the content of **112**, where Heraclides Ponticus is explicitly mentioned as the source. The same Heraclides seems to be the source in both cases.

**145** Plutarch, *On the Fame of the Athenians* 3 347C (BT v.2, p.126.12–127.1 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

Furthermore, as Heraclides Ponticus relates, the report of the battle at Marathon was brought back by Thersippus of Erchia, but the majority say that Eucles ran in full armor, hot from (the) battle, and burst in at the doors of the senior statesmen, and said nothing more than “Rejoice” and “We rejoice,” and then immediately breathed his last.



### III. INCERTA

- 146** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4.12 134B–C (BT t.1, p.304.23–305.5 Kaibel)

10 W μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσί κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν  
ἔθος [τῆς ὀρχήσεως] κωμωδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ  
δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὀρχούμενον

ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται

ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,

ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην,

C ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδη;

4–8 = *Antiphanes* PCG (t.II, p.370) fr. 111      4–5 (βάκηλον) *Eust. ad Hom. Iliad.* 1.598 (p.159.43) = t.1, p. 246.43–4 van der Valk

2 τῆς ὀρχήσεως *del. Kaibel*      6 πᾶσιν *ACE*: παισὶν *Kock*      8 Εὐρωπίδῃ:  
Εὐρωπίδου *propos. M. Schmidt, Wehrli*



## III. UNCERTAIN

- 146** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 4.12 134B–C (*BT* v.1, p.304.23–305.5 Kaibel)

Perhaps also Antiphanes<sup>1</sup> in *The Carians* with reference to the Attic custom [of dancing] ridicules one of the wise men<sup>2</sup> for dancing during dinner, speaking thus:

Don't you see him dancing,  
 gesticulating with his hands,<sup>3</sup> the effeminate fellow?  
 Doesn't he feel ashamed  
 he who explains Heraclitus to all,  
 who alone has discovered the art of Theodectes,<sup>4</sup>  
 C        who composes the summaries of Euripides?

<sup>1</sup> Antiphanes was a prolific Athenian poet of the Middle Comedy. This fragment is 111 (*PCG* II, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> These lines have been referred to Heraclides Ponticus, first by Trendelenburg ap. A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Poetarum Comoediae Mediae*, vol. 3, Berlin 1840, p. 60; cp. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 197 n. 18; O. Weinreich, "Epigramm und Pantomimus," *Sitzungsberichte Heidelberger Akademie, Philos.-Histor. Kl.*, 1944/48, 1. Abh., 136–40). This attribution can be supported by the fact that Heraclides interpreted Heraclitus, cp. **17** (41); **127**. Schrader, *Philologus* 44, 1885, pp. 251–4 points out that the description given by Antiphanes does not fit any of the other authors known for interpreting Heraclitus (**127**). And the composition of the summaries, or rather: the main issues, of plays of Euripides mentioned here, fits Heraclides' literary interests in the three famous Athenian tragedians, cp. **17** (31) and (36). Heraclides wrote on rhetoric **17** (49) as well. Gottschalk p. 159–60 rejects this attribution solely on the grounds that the "discovery of the art of Theodectes" is ascribed to this man of wisdom. But this is comic exaggeration of an interest Heraclides had (Weinreich, p. 137) and should not be taken literally. It might be difficult, "unter den Zeitgenossen des Antiphanes einen anderen σοφός zu finden, auf den sich alle Indizien ebenso vereinigen liessen wie eben auf Herakleides" (Weinreich, p. 138).

<sup>3</sup> This was, however, considered a part of proper dancing: Xen. *Symp.* 2.16.

<sup>4</sup> Theodectes, from Phaselis, 4th century B.C., was an orator, a tragedian and author of a rhetorical treatise of which Aristotle made a summary (Diog. Laert. 5.24), which may be identical with the rhetorical work *Theodecteia*: Arist. *Rhet.* 3.9 1410b2.



## 147 Aristocles, De Aristotelis philosophia, fr. 2.3 (p.12 Chiesara)

τίς δ' ἂν πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ μουσικοῦ  
 λεγομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος; ἐν γὰρ τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ  
 τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ φησὶν ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ ἀντοικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ  
 τινας Περίπατον ξένους ὄντας. οἴονται οὖν ἔνιοι ταῦτα περὶ  
 Ἀριστοτέλους λέγειν αὐτόν, Ἀριστοξένου διὰ παντὸς εὐφη- 5  
 μούντος Ἀριστοτέλην.

= Aristocles ap. Euseb. Praep. evang. 15.2.3 (t.8, pars 2, p.346.23–347.4  
 Mras-des Places); Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 64; no. 58d Düring 1957; deest in  
 R<sup>3</sup> 2–4 'Quosdam' absente Platone (vid. 3) Academiam instituere conantes  
 intellexit Heraclidem Ponticum U.v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Antigonos von  
 Karystos, 1881, p. 280 adn. 12 (in p.281), cf. Susemihl, BPhW 18 (1898) 259

2 τῷ<sup>2</sup> I<sup>b</sup>ON om. V: τοῦ Stephanus 3 αὐτῶν I<sup>b</sup> 5 διὰ παντὸς codd.  
 plurimi: δίαπάν τις I<sup>b</sup>

## 148 Macrobius, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis 1.2.20–1 (BT p. 8.4–12 Willis)

adeo semper ita se et sciri et coli numina maluerunt qualiter  
 in vulgus antiquitas fabulata est, quae et imagines et simulacra  
 formarum talium prorsus alienis, et aetates tam incrementi quam  
 diminutionis ignaris, et amictus ornatusque varios corpus non  
 21 habentibus adsignavit. haec Pythagoras ipse atque Empedocles, 5  
 Parmenides quoque et † Heraclitus † de dis fabulati sunt, nec  
 secus Timaeus qui progenies eorum sicut traditum fuerat exsecu-  
 tus est.

6 Heraclitus codd.: Heraclides L. Jan, vid. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001,  
 Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.602–3 (ii)

Hic locus non inclusus est in fragmenta Heracliti collecta a Diels DK



- 147** Aristocles, *On the Philosophy of Aristotle*, fr. 2.3 (p.12 Chiesara)

Who would trust the statements made by the expert on music Aristoxenus in his *Life of Plato*? He says that during (Plato's) travels and absence some who were strangers (in Athens) rose up against him and established a rival school, (the) Peripatos. Now, some believe that he (Aristoxenus) made this statement about Aristotle, although he always speaks well of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "übrigens scheint mir evident, dass Aristoxenus ... eben den Herakleides meint. natürlich verdreht er den sachverhalt," U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 280 n. 12 (p. 281), cp. Susemihl, *BPhW* 18 (1898) 259.

- 148** Macrobius, *Commentaries on the Dream of Scipio* 1.2.20–21 (*BT* p.8.4–12 Willis)

And the divine beings have always preferred to be understood and worshipped in accordance with the tales that were fabricated in antiquity for the masses. And (in antiquity) pictures and statues were assigned to beings who completely lacked such shapes, and different stages of age to beings who are not subjected to growth or diminution, and clothes and various adornments to beings that do not have a body. Pythagoras himself and Empedocles<sup>1</sup> and Parmenides,<sup>2</sup> too, and †Heraclitus†<sup>3</sup> have told these fabulous things about the gods, just like Timaeus<sup>4</sup> who has set out a complete account of their offspring just as it had been passed down.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to understand why Macrobius mentioned Empedocles here, since Empedocles had objected to poets who in their myths presented gods in human shape: 31 B 134 DK. However, Macrobius might have been thinking of the practice of Empedocles to give the names of gods to forces of nature, e.g. Aphrodite: 31 B 17.22 ff.; B 22 DK, cp. below n. 4 on Timaeus.

<sup>2</sup> In the prologue of Parmenides' poem (28 B 1.14 ff. DK) the goddess *Dike* teaches Parmenides the secrets of truth.



**149A** Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentarium, liber tertius 141D (BT t.2, p. 8.7–9 Diehl)

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅτι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνὰ λόγον εἶναι τῷ πυρὶ δείκνυσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄβαριν λόγῳ.

*Comment. in Plat. Tim. 31B*      2 Pythagoras, i.e. persona in dialogo a Heraclide Pontico conscripto, vid. H. Diels, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, t.3 (1890) p. 468 adn. 39

**149B** Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorae 90; 93; 147 (p.169.5–16 Thesleff)

καὶ τὸ περὶ φύσεως σύγγραμμα καὶ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ θεῶν ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτοις αὐτὸν (scil. Ἄβαριν) ἀνεδίδαξεν (scil. Πυθαγόρας).

93 οὕτω δὴ καταμείναντι αὐτῷ, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, φυσιολογίαν τε καὶ θεολογίαν ἐπιτετημένην παρέδωκε, καὶ ἀντὶ 5 τῆς διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἱεροσκοπίας τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πρόγνωσιν παρέδωκεν, ἡγούμενος ταύτην καθαρωτέραν εἶναι καὶ θειοτέραν καὶ τοῖς οὐρανίοις τῶν θεῶν ἀριθμοῖς οἰκειοτέραν, ἄλλα τε τὰ ἀρμόζοντα τῷ Ἀβάριδι παρέδωκεν ἐπιτηδεύματα. 10

147 ἐποιεῖτο δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ θαυμαστήν πρόγνωσιν καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν θεῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα συγγενεστάτην ... ἐπειδὴ Ἄβαρις ... πρόγνωσιν διὰ θυμάτων ἐπορίζετο, ... βουλόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας μὴ ἀφαιρεῖν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τάληθές σπουδὴν, παρασχεῖν δὲ ... 15 χωρὶς αἵματος ..., τὸ λεγόμενον παναληθές ἀπετέλεσεν αὐτῷ, δι' ἀριθμητικῆς ἐπιστήμης συντεταγμένον.

2 *De Abaride*, vid. **24B** T v.6

16–17 *At* cf. **128** vv.8–9



<sup>3</sup> According to Marcovich, the name of Heraclitus is written by mistake. Heraclides Ponticus would be a better candidate for the views Macrobius ascribes to this group of philosophers.

<sup>4</sup> Timaeus is the person in the Platonic dialogue of the same name who gave a brief account of the generation of gods, making Oceanus and Tethys “children” of Earth and Heaven, whose grandchildren had brothers and more children: *Timaeus* 40E–41A.

**149A** Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, book 3 141D (*BT* v.2, p.8.7–9 Diehl)

And besides, that Pythagoras in his exposition addressed to Abaris demonstrates the eye to be comparable to fire.

**149B** Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 90; 93; 147 (p.169.5–16 Thesleff)<sup>1</sup>

And in a most succinct manner he (Pythagoras) taught him (Abaris) the treatise *On Nature* and furthermore that *On Gods*.

93 When he (Abaris) stayed, he (Pythagoras) thus taught him, as we just said, his theory of nature and of the gods in an abbreviated manner. And instead of divination through the inspection of sacrificial victims, he taught him prognosis through numbers, which he took to be purer, more divine and more akin to the heavenly numbers of the gods. And he taught Abaris other practices which suited him.

147 Through these same numbers, he (Pythagoras) developed an admirable method of predicting the future and of worship of the gods in accordance with these numbers, one that was eminently akin (to them) ... When Abaris ... furnished (a) prognosis by means of sacrificial victims ... Pythagoras, who did not want to take away from him his serious pursuit of truth, but wanted to provide (one) ... without blood ..., produced for him the so-called all-truth, which is structured through knowledge of



Tragoediae (150–4)

**150** Suda Θ 282 s.v. Θέσπις (LG t.2, p.711.11–13 Adler)

μνημονεύεται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ (scil. Θέσπιδος)  
Ἄθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, Ἱερεῖς, Ἡίθεοι, Πενθεύς.

= **17** (58) *et TrGF Thespis (t.1 p.63.7–8<sup>2</sup>Snell-Kannicht) T 1; ibid. (p.65) 1 F 1 a/b*  
*De tragoediis Heraclidis Pontici sub nomine auctoris Thespidis scriptis vid. 1 (92) cum adn. 17*

**151** Pollux, Onomasticon 7.45 (t.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe)

ΠΕΝΘΕΥΣ

καὶ Θέσπις δέ ποῦ φησιν ἐν τῷ Πένθει  
ἔργῳ νόμιζε νεβρίδ' ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

= *Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65<sup>2</sup>Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 1c*



arithmetic.

<sup>1</sup> These passages could be based on Heraclides Ponticus (for Heraclides as a possible source of Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 91–93, see Rehm, *RhM* 67 (1912) p. 421). Not only do they reveal Heraclides’ interest in Pythagoras [cp. **17** (50)] and his teaching (cp. **25**), but Abaris also features in them prominently (cp. for Heraclides **24B**; **55**; **130–2**) in the context of the prediction of the future which was of interest to Heraclides [**17** (40); **117–26**].

### Tragedies (**150–4**)

**150** *Suda* Θ (Theta) 282 under “Thespis” (*LG* v.2, p.711.11–13 Adler)

Of his (Thespis’)<sup>1</sup> plays there are mentioned *The Funeral Games of Pelias or Phorbas, Priests, Young Men, Pentheus*.

<sup>1</sup> For the reasons to consider these works as written by Heraclides Ponticus, see above **1** n. 17, cp. F.G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet*, 3. Abt., Bonn 1841, 1096–8. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, Berlin 1935, 373 n.2, declared categorically that one should not believe the hateful accusation by Aristoxenus that Heraclides falsified these lines (**1** [92]). However, if according to Diog. Laert. 8.8 Ion of Chios said about Pythagoras that he composed some poems and attributed (ἀνεεργεῖν) them to Orpheus, then one need not read any malice into Aristoxenus’ statement about Heraclides’ same practice. Snell-Kannicht *TrGF* 1 (v.1, p.65) F 1 refer “(d)e Heraclide Pontico auctore horum fragmentorum,” i.e., for the attribution of fragments **150–4** to Heraclides Ponticus as author, to the statement by Aristoxenus **1** (92).

**151** Pollux, *Nomenclature* 7.45 (v.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe)

Thespis, too, says somewhere in his *Pentheus*:

Take it that (Dionysus<sup>1</sup>) has in fact a fawnskin as an outer cloak.

<sup>1</sup> The parallel in Eur. *Bacchae* 137 suggests that the character is Dionysus.



- 152 Anonymus in Pap. Paris. 2 col. VIII.1–4 (p.153.1–4 Donnini Maccio-Funghi)

οὐ  
Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς οὕτως  
ἀπέφασκεν· “οὐκ ἐξαθήσας  
οἶδα· ἰδὼν δέ σοι λέγω.”

*Scriptum c. 159–156 B.C., cf. Donnini Maccio-Funghi l.l. p.129–30 = Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65 <sup>2</sup>Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 2; Chrysippus (?) fr. 180, 12 (SVF t.2, p.55.21–2 v. Arnim)*

- 153 Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 14 36B (BT t.1, p.73.11–3 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

ὁρᾷς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,  
οὐ ψεῦδος οὐδὲ κόμπον οὐ μῶρον γέλων  
ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ’ ἡδὺ μῦθος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

*= Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65 <sup>2</sup>Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 3*

- 154 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 5.8 48.7 (t.2, p.359.9–17 Stählin-Früchtel)

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω κναξζβὶ<χ> {τὸ} λευκὸν  
ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν·  
ἴδε σοὶ θύπτην τυρὸν μίξας  
ἐρυθρῷ μελιτῷ, κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πὰν  
δίκερως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἀγίων.  
ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίου {αἶθοπα} φλεγμὸν λείβω.

5

*Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.66 <sup>2</sup>Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 4*      1 † κνάξ· γάλα † λευκόν  
*Hsch. κ 86*      ζβίχ· λευκόν *Hsch. ζ 85*

1 κναξζβίχ Stählin: κναξζβὶ L: κνάξ, ζβίχ Salmasius Welcker 1841 p.1097  
adn. 2 τὸ del. Tour 2 ἀπὸ codd.: γάλα Nauck 4 μελιτῷ (vid.  
Hsch. κ 35 μελιτόν· κηρίον) Schwartz: μέλιτι L 6 αἶθοπα del. Nauck:  
αἶθωπα L



- 152** Anonymous in *Pap.Paris.* 2 col.VIII.1–4 (p.153.1–4 Donnini Maccio-Funghi)

The poet Thespis did not make a denial in the following manner: “I know without having considered it closely, and having seen I tell you.”

- 153** Plutarch, *How the Young Should Study Poetry* 14 36B (*BT* v.1, p.73.11–13 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

You see that Zeus is first among the gods in this:  
neither lies nor boasts nor foolish laughter  
he practises; and he alone does not know pleasure.

- 154** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 5.8 48.7 (v.2, p.359.9–17 Stählin-Früchtel)

Behold, to you I pour white milk,  
having squeezed it from yellow goats teats:  
Behold, for you I mix (pressed?) cheese  
with red honeycomb, and put it down on your holy altars,  
Pan with double horn(s).  
Behold, to you I pour the {firey} *phlegmon* (life-juice?) of  
Bromius (= Dionysus).



- 155** POxy. 664+3544, ediderunt M.W. Haslam, Heraclides Ponticus 1 *De imperio* (?), in: CPF, *Parte I, vol.1\*\**, 1992, 199-214; W. Lapini, Il POxy. 664 di Eraclide Pontico e la cronologia dei Cipselidi, Firenze 1996. Quaestio, an Heraclides Ponticus auctor dialogi sit, cuius reliquiae in papyris Oxy. 664 et 3544 praeservatae sunt, vix resolvi posse videtur, vid. Lapini, op. laud. p.35; cf. Dorandi, RUSCH t.15, cap. 1.

#### IV. REIECTA

1. Wehrli fr. 13c, quod est frustulum papyri Herculaneensis (editum a S. Mekler in libro: Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaneensis, Berolini 1902, p.XVIe [XXI]), removendum est; vid. Snell-Kannicht, TrGF t.1, ed. secunda, p.349, adn. ad p.169 no. 40 T 4; cf. Dorandi, RUSCH 15, cap.1.
2. Wehrli fr. 33 = S. Mekler Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaneensis, Berolini 1902, p.27 col. X. Lectiones propositae a Mekler post novam examinationem papyri confirmari non potuerunt, vid. Dorandi, RUSCH 15, cap.1.
3. Wehrli fr. 103 = Servius, Commentarius ad Vergilii Aeneidem 1.273. Heraclides laudatus a Servio non Heraclides Ponticus, immo Heraclides Lembus est. Vid. Festus 17.269, p.329.6–15 Lindsay; cf. Schütrumpf, “The Origin of the Name of Rome — a Passage Wrongly Attributed to Heraclides Ponticus,” *Philologus* 151 (2007) 160–1.
4. Argumentum in commentario Porphyrii Εἰς τὰ ἁρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου υπόμνημα, edito ab I. Düring, Porphyrios. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios (Gothoburgii 1932, denuo 1980), γ 3, pp.30–1, auctori recentiori attribuendum est, cf. Wehrli p.112–3; Gottschalk p.157.



- 155** *POxy.* 664+3544, edd. M.W. Haslam, “Heraclides Ponticus 1 *De imperio* (?),” in: *CPF*, Part I, vol. 1\*\*, 1992, 199–214; W. Lapini, *Il POxy. 664 di Eraclide Pontico e la cronologia del Cipselidi*, Firenze 1996. It appears to be impossible to resolve the question, whether Heraclides Ponticus is the author of the dialogue, remains of which have been preserved in the papyri *Oxy.* 664 and 3544; see Lapini, *l.c.* p. 35; cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

#### IV. REJECTED

1. Wehrli fr. 13c, a small fragment of a papyrus from Herculaneum (edited by S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaneensis*, Berlin 1902, p. XVIe [XXI]), is to be rejected; see Snell-Kannicht, *TrGF* v. 1, 2nd edition, p. 349, note on p. 169 no. 40 T 4; cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.
2. Wehrli fr. 33 = S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaneensis*, Berlin 1902, p. 27 col. X. The readings by Mekler could not be confirmed by a re-examination of the papyrus. See Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.
3. Wehrli fr. 103 = Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* I.273. The Heraclides mentioned by Servius is not Heraclides Ponticus but Heraclides Lembos. See Festus 17.269, p. 329, 6–15 Lindsay; cp. Schütrumpf, “The Origin of the Name of Rome — a Passage Wrongly Attributed to Heraclides Ponticus,” *Philologus* 151 (2007) 160–1.
4. The argument in Porphyry's commentary *On Claudius Ptolemy's Harmonics*, edited by I. Düring, *Porphyrios. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (Göteborg 1932, reprinted 1980), γ 3, pp. 30–1, is to be attributed to a more recent author; cp. Wehrli, p. 112–3; Gottschalk, p. 157.



INDICES

Concordances

W = F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, Heft VII, Herakleides Pontikos, Basel <sup>2</sup>1969

W	Schütrumpf	W	S
1	<b>2</b>	27c	<b>21B</b>
2	<b>3</b>	27d	<b>21D</b>
3	<b>1</b> (86)	27e	<b>21E</b>
4	<b>6</b>	27f	<b>21F</b>
5	<b>7</b>	28	<b>1</b> (88)
6	<b>8</b>	29	<b>1</b> (88)
7	<b>9</b>	30	<b>1</b> (88)
8	Test. ad <b>9</b>	31	<b>1</b> (88)
9	<b>10</b>	32	<b>1</b> (88)
10	<b>146</b>	33	<b>1</b> (88); Reiecta 2.
11	<b>1</b> (89)	34	<b>1</b> (87)
12	<b>5</b>	35	<b>1</b> (87)
13a	<b>1</b> (92-93)	36	<b>1</b> (87)
13b	<b>11</b>	37	<b>1</b> (88)
13c	Reiecta 1.	38	<b>1</b> (88)
14a	<b>1</b> (91)	39	<b>1</b> (88); <b>127</b>
14b	<b>12</b>	40	<b>128</b>
15	<b>12</b>	41	<b>129</b>
16	<b>1</b> (89-90)	42	<b>1</b> (87)
17	<b>13</b>	43	<b>1</b> (87)
18	<b>4</b>	44	<b>25</b>
19	<b>14</b>	45	<b>81</b>
20	<b>15</b>	46a	<b>26A</b>
21	<b>16</b>	46b	<b>26B</b>
22	<b>1</b> (86-89)	47	<b>27</b>
23	<b>18</b>	48	<b>1</b> (92)
24a	<b>19A</b>	49	<b>22</b>
24b	<b>19B</b>	50	<b>23</b>
25	<b>1</b> (89)	51a	<b>24A</b>
26	<b>20</b>	51b	<b>24C</b>
27a	<b>21A</b>	51c	<b>24B</b>
27b	<b>21C</b>	52	<b>1</b> (86) (88)



W	S	W	S
53	1 (86)	90	55
54	1 (87)	91	56
55	39	92	53
56	40	93	54A
57	41	94	57
58	42	95	58
59	43	96	52
60	45	97	50
61	44	98a	46A
62	1 (87)	98b	46B
62, I	1 (88)	98c	46C
63	1 (87)	98d	46D
64	36	99	47
65	37	100	48
66a	38A	101	51
66b	38B	102	49
67	1 (88)	103	Reiecta 3.
68	79	104	65A
69	139	105	66
70	140	106	67
71	79	107	68
72	80	108	69
73	130	109	70
74	131	110	71
75	132	111	72
76	82	112	74
77	87	113a	75A
78	88	113b	75D
79	89	113c	75C
80	90	114a	76A
81	91A	114b	76C
82	92	114c	76D
83	93	115	94 (72)
84	94	116	77
85	95A	117	78
86	83	118	59
87	84	119a	60A
88	85	119b	60B
89	86	120	61



W	S		
		155	<b>143</b>
		156	<b>145</b>
121	<b>62</b>	157	<b>109</b>
122a	<b>63A</b>	158	<b>110</b>
122b	<b>63B</b>	159	<b>111</b>
123	<b>64</b>	160	<b>112</b>
124	<b>133</b>	161	<b>113</b>
125	<b>134</b>	162	<b>115B</b>
126	<b>135A</b>	163	<b>114</b>
127	<b>136</b>	164	<b>1</b> (87)
128a	<b>137A</b>	165	<b>1</b> (88)
128b	<b>137B</b>	166	<b>1</b> (88)
129	<b>138</b>	167	<b>96</b>
130	<b>119</b>	168	<b>106</b>
131a	<b>120A</b>	169	<b>98</b>
131b	<b>120B</b>	170	<b>97</b>
131c	<b>120C</b>	171	<b>99</b>
132	<b>117A</b>	172	<b>100</b>
133	<b>117B</b>	173	<b>101</b>
134	<b>118</b>	174	<b>102</b>
135	<b>121</b>	175	<b>104</b>
136	<b>124</b>	176	<b>1</b> (92)
137a	<b>122A</b>	177	<b>105</b>
137b	<b>122B</b>	178	<b>1</b> (87)
138	<b>123</b>	179	<b>1</b> (88)
139	<b>125</b>	180	<b>1</b> (87)
140	<b>108</b>	181	<b>1</b> (92)
141	<b>126</b>		
142	<b>1</b> (88)	<b>Schütrumpf</b>	<b>W</b>
143	<b>30</b>		
144	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b> (86)	3
145	<b>29</b>	<b>1</b> (86-89)	22
146	<b>32</b>	<b>1</b> (86)	52
147	<b>33</b>	<b>1</b> (86)	53
148	<b>34</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	54
149	<b>35</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	44
150	<b>31</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	164
151	<b>1</b> (87)	<b>1</b> (87)	151
152	<b>144</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	63
153	<b>141</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	62
154	<b>142A</b>	<b>1</b> (87)	43



S	W	S	W
1 (87)	36	12	14b; 15
1 (87)	42	13	17
1 (87)	34	14	19
1 (87)	35	15	20
1 (87)	178	16	21
1 (87)	180	17	-
1 (88)	28	18	23
1 (88)	179	19A	24a
1 (88)	165	19B	24b
1 (88)	166	20	26
1 (88)	31	21A	27a
1 (88)	142	21B	27c
1 (88)	39	21C	27b
1 (88)	37	21D	27d
1 (88)	32	21E	27e
1 (88)	30	21F	27f
1 (88)	29	22	49
1 (88)	67	23	50
1 (88)	38	24A	51a
1 (88)	33	24B	51c
1 (88)	152	24C	51b
1 (89)	25	25	44
1 (89)	11	26A	46a
1 (89–90)	16	26B	46b
1 (91)	14a	27	47
1 (92)	181	28	144
1 (92)	176	29	145
1 (92)	48	30	143
1 (92–3)	13a	31	150
2	1	32	146
3	2	33	147
4	18	34	148
5	12	35	149
6	4	36	64
7	5	37	65
8	6	38A	66a
9	7	38B	66b
10	9	39	55
11	13b	40	56



S	W	S	W
41	57	71	110
42	58	72	111
43	59	73	-
44	61	74	112
45	60	75A	113a
46A	98a	75B	-
46B	98b	75C	113c
46C	98c	75D	113b
46D	98d	76A	114a
47	99	76B	-
48	100	76C	114b
49	102	76D	114c
50	97	77	116
51	101	78	117
52	96	79	68; 71
53	92	80	72
54A	93	81	45
54B	-	82	76
54C	-	83	86
55	90	84	87
56	91	85	88
57	94	86	89
58	95	87	77
59	118	88	78
60A	119a	89	79
60B	119b	90	80
61	120	91A	81
62	121	91B	-
63A	122a	92	82
63B	122b	93	83
64	123	94	84; 115
65A	104	95A	85
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